
The Effect of Family Planning on Women's Lives: The Case of The People's Republic of China

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

Fertility has declined precipitously in China over the past three decades, so there are generations of Chinese women alive today who have been affected very differently by family planning. China's total fertility rate (TFR) fell from more than six children in the 1950s to around two in 1992; virtually all couples in urban areas now have one child and most couples in rural areas have two children. In 1979, China adopted a population policy advocating one child per couple (soon thereafter, some exceptions were made, particularly in rural areas for daughter-only couples). The policy has come into conflict with a culture that has valued males over females. The legal position of women has improved, as has women's status as measured by education and employment statistics. However, attitudes and behavior toward women suggest that gender norms and roles are slow to change.

The Chinese government recognizes that the family planning program has had many beneficial effects on Chinese society but also acknowledges the program's negative effects. While the State Family Planning Commission (SFPC) still has fertility goals and contraceptive use targets, the program is now committed to providing better quality services to clients.

Most studies have looked at the status of women and the role that various factors in a woman's life play in determining her use or non-use of family planning. More recently, Family Health International (FHI), primarily with funding for the Women's Studies Project (WSP), from the U.S. Agency for International Development, and in the case of this study, through the Rockefeller Foundation, has conducted research in a number of countries that aims instead to understand how contraceptive use and reproductive health may have affected women's lives in terms of family relations, education, employment, and quality of life.

Objectives

The objectives of this study were to investigate, using the WSP conceptual framework, the role family planning has played in affecting three domains of women's lives: personal, familial and social. The study investigated women's experiences with family planning methods and services, and with pregnancy and childbearing, and the role women attributed to family planning in the opportunities they have had in their lives. While women were of primary interest in this study, men's perceptions and experiences were also examined.

Methods

This study, conducted in 1996, was undertaken jointly by the China Population Information and Research Center (CPIRC) and FHI. This study was carried out in two counties each in two provinces: Counties A and B are in South Jiangsu Province, an east coast province with a

booming economy, a strong family planning program and rapid decline of fertility; Counties C and D are in North Anhui Province, representing middle China, with an agrarian economy and a less effective family planning program. The study included a survey of 1,996 women and 506 men and 56 focus group discussions (FGD) with 375 people (220 women and 155 men). The FGD were conducted with older women and older men, reproductive age women and men, unmarried women and men and woman entrepreneurs (a group of special interest in China).

Results

Socioeconomic and Other Personal Factors

- C The physical, socioeconomic and generational context** of women's and men's lives in South Jiangsu and North Anhui differed considerably. People in South Jiangsu were more prosperous than in North Anhui. Respondents were virtually all married and were, on average, in their mid- to late 30s. Household size was, on average, 3.6 in South Jiangsu and 3.8 in North Anhui, with respondents in South Jiangsu generally living in larger and newer houses than in North Anhui. Educational attainment was higher in South Jiangsu than in North Anhui. Men tended to have more education than women and younger people had higher educational attainment than did older people. Virtually all the men and women in North Anhui worked as farmers, while only one in five respondents in South Jiangsu were farmers. The most common occupation in South Jiangsu was worker in a local enterprise.
- C Households were more prosperous in South Jiangsu than in North Anhui. Most households in both areas owned bicycles and televisions, but households in South Jiangsu were more likely to own other consumer goods, such as refrigerators and washing machines and means of transportation, such as motorcycles. Only ownership of tractors was more common in North Anhui than in South Jiangsu.

Childbearing Experience

- C Knowledge of the fertility policy.** People tended to know the fertility policy in their area and were, for the most part, adhering to it. A woman from South Jiangsu summed up the situation in her area: *“Not many people have two children. Only the older generation had three or four.”* South Jiangsu strictly enforced a one-child per couple policy with few exceptions, while North Anhui had a more relaxed one-child per couple policy in which couples whose first children were daughters were allowed to apply to have another child. Even a young man from North Anhui knew the policy. *“You have to submit a report before marriage and have to go to the township to apply for a pregnancy certificate....If you have a rural residence permit, if the first child is a daughter, after several years you can have another, but I can't remember the spacing.”*

- C Number and sex of children.** Women in South Jiangsu had an average of 1.3 live births (0.7 sons and 0.6 daughters) compared to 1.8 children (1.0 sons and 0.8 daughters) in North Anhui.

Contraceptive Use and Experience with Abortion

- C Contraceptive use** in South Jiangsu and North Anhui, reported at over 90 percent among survey participants, generally followed the guidelines of the family planning policy and was based on fertility rather than on personal choice. According to one respondent from North Anhui, *“everyone knows that after birth you have an IUD, but frequently the IUD drops out.”* Respondents with one child used IUDs and those with two children were sterilized, particularly in North Anhui where the government has strengthened enforcement of the policy during the past decade. Method switching generally occurred with a change in parity, and around half of those who switched in North Anhui said they did so at the urging of family planning workers (compared to 10-30 percent in South Jiangsu).

Over 95 percent of the women in South Jiangsu and over 80 of women in North Anhui said they were willing to accept their current method of contraception, and women expressed satisfaction with the method. The main reason noted by women and men for not using the method they deemed more suitable for themselves or their partners was the policy restriction on the method, cited by more than 70 percent of respondents.

- C Contraceptive failure and abortion.** One-quarter of the South Jiangsu respondents said that they (or their partners) had had an abortion, compared to fewer than 10 percent in North Anhui. Most abortions were due to out-of-plan pregnancies, and more respondents in North Anhui than in South Jiangsu said the family planning cadre had compelled them to have their last abortion.

In the FGD, women and men talked about the high failure rate of the steel ring IUD, used throughout China until very recently. Women noted that they worried about contraceptive failure (sometimes repeated failures); one young woman said, *“Even when women use family planning, they worry about the efficacy of the method. They worry about their sex life.”* The problem of IUD failure should be ameliorated in China with the switch to copper-bearing IUDs.

Experience with Family Planning and Reproductive Health Services

- C The context of reproductive health.** This was very different for older and younger women. Many older women in the FGD characterized their lives as spent in bearing too many children and trying to raise them in poverty. One woman from South Jiangsu said, *“My mother died...in the delivery of her third child of a hemorrhage. The baby was alive, but was buried with my mother. Not even the midwife came because my family had no money.”* Older women wished they had had access to family planning sooner so that

they could have limited their family size. Women of all ages agreed that younger women have a much easier time in childbearing than did older women. Most women agreed that in general the reproductive health of younger women is better than that of older women. There was also a sense that people -- including male cadres -- have a better understanding of women's health.

- C Family planning information and reproductive health services.** There has long been acceptance of family planning in South Jiangsu and until recently, resignation toward it in North Anhui. Now, particularly among younger women and men, family planning use is the norm. Messages about family planning are reinforced by family planning cadres and community leaders.

In South Jiangsu, women received family planning and other health services at the township level, either in health clinics or Maternal and Child Health (MCH) hospitals while in North Anhui most women got their services from the township family planning service station. Typical services received included pregnancy tests, family planning consulting and services, and maternal and child health (MCH) services. Fewer than one in five women had complaints about their current service delivery point (SDP), although the percentages varied by county. The main complaints included long waiting lines, crowded clinics, the distance from home to clinic and the cost of services.

- C Women's tests.** In order to make contraceptive use more effective and to reduce the abortion rate, the family planning program has instituted a system of quarterly "women's tests" (pregnancy tests and IUD checks) which are mandatory for women of reproductive age who are not sterilized. A woman from North Anhui said, "*Some service stations require 100 percent participation -- even from young married women.*" In addition, for a small fee, women can receive a gynecological exam. When they were first instituted, many women considered the tests an imposition on their time, but once the women were "educated" about the "importance" of the tests (some were fined for not participating), they became resigned to coming to the family planning clinic four times a year. Some women expressed appreciation for the tests, indicating that the tests provided needed gynecological care for rural women.

- C Men and family planning.** In the FGD, men noted that family planning use is usually the responsibility of women. According to a middle-aged man from South Jiangsu, "*Males take less responsibility for family planning....Men are important and should be protected. Women should use family planning.*" In the survey, women and men in North Anhui were more likely than those in South Jiangsu to say that men should have vasectomies and that they should use condoms. Unease about both men and women receiving services at family planning clinics at the same time does not appear to be a significant barrier to male involvement in contraceptive use. In China, a bigger barrier to male use of contraception appears to be a defacto emphasis in the program advocating use of female methods, namely female sterilization and the IUD. A young man from South Jiangsu said, "*I wish*

we had better methods for males.”

- C Reproductive health information and services for young adults.** The Chinese government is concerned about controlling young adults’ fertility and meeting their reproductive health needs. Abortions for unmarried women, particularly in cities, are quite prevalent. There is a gap in coverage for young people between school and marriage. In the FGD, young people said that the information they received on sex and reproductive health was quite general. One young woman from South Jiangsu said, *“Because of the ideology in rural areas, people are shy to ask such questions.”* Some said that such subjects are taboo in rural areas. A young woman from North Anhui noted, *“Our family will oppose. We need to avoid such topics.”* Young people said they usually have to wait until marriage to learn details of sex and family planning.

Family and Household Roles

- C Gender and generational roles** in households in South Jiangsu and North Anhui are changing, although for the most part, women are still considered primarily responsible for household work such as cooking and cleaning. In the FGD, women and men agreed that as more women work outside the home, men are slowly increasing (although sometimes reluctantly) their contribution to domestic work. Women have been more involved in household decision-making and as women increasingly work outside the home for an income, they are accorded more say in matters with parents-in-law. According to a man from North Anhui, *“Women have become important in decision-making in the family.”* A woman from South Jiangsu noted, *“My position is equal to my husband. I can spend money and discuss with my husband.”* A young man from North Anhui commented, *“Nowadays, whoever is more capable, with more education and more income, that person will be in charge.”* Some older people lamented the lack of respect among the young for their elders -- and the lack of work and child rearing ability among the young. A woman from North Anhui complained, *“My daughter-in-law has one child. She walked away and left the baby for the grandmother to look after. She is not home the whole day.”*
- C Satisfaction with family size and sex composition of children.** Women and men tended to say they had the right number of children for their circumstances. The most satisfied were those who had one son and one daughter. Those who were not satisfied tended to say they had too few children, rather than too many.

In the FGD, some women and men stated a preference for daughters because they are easier and less expensive to raise and are nicer to their parents in old age. One woman from North Anhui noted, *“I have two sons -- that’s too much burden. They have to go to school and get married. That’s going to be expensive.”* Furthermore, women and men in one county in South Jiangsu had an economic reason for wanting daughters -- for their embroidery skills. Still, desire for sons remained strong. According to a woman from

South Jiangsu, *“My mother-in-law said it is inferior to have daughters. If you have a son, even your house will look higher.”* Some women from North Anhui agreed: *“If you have a son, you will be seen as a strong family relative to families that have no son, which is regarded as weak.”* A woman from North Anhui said, *“There is very much discrimination against [women with two daughters and no sons] by the mother-in-law and the family. They lead miserable lives, especially if they are sterilized. Then there is no hope. You have terminated your family line.”*

FGD participants talked about the lengths women would go to have a son. All cities and many villages have ultrasound machines available to check if IUDs are in place. The practice of detecting the sex of the fetus and having a sex-selective abortion is illegal, but, as noted by FGD participants, continues. According to some women from North Anhui, *“People use an ultrasound B machine. If it is a female fetus, they don’t want it. People will usually go elsewhere to check....No matter how much money they have to spend, they think it is worth it.”* It is possible, however, that if sex-selective abortion is effectively banned, infanticide may increase, unless the causes of the problem, namely the status of women in China, are addressed.

- C Out-of-plan births.** Out-of-plan births can include births not in accordance with the local family planning regulations in terms of either parity or spacing. One-third of the respondents in North Anhui had out-of-plan births compared to 2 percent in South Jiangsu. Out-of-plan children were twice as likely to be sons as daughters. People noted being fined for out-of-plan children. One woman from North Anhui said, *“In our rural areas, family planning only allows people not to have babies, but does so by relying on fines.”*

Although the government has said out-of-plan children will not be given preference for social services, out-of-plan children were not likely to be school dropouts and they were likely to have received medical treatment and immunizations.

- C Family planning and marital relationships.** Family planning use appeared to have little effect on marital and sexual relationships. In addition, women and men reported little couple disagreement about family size; when disagreements occurred, couples generally discussed the situation and reached a joint decision. The congruence of the views of women and men in this study (particularly in the survey) implies that women and men do communicate about issues surrounding family planning and reproductive health.
- C Desired attributes in spouses among young adults.** While people of all generations noted the changing status of women, including women’s role in decision-making in the household, young women and men still reverted to prevailing gender norms and roles when they talked about their desired attributes in a spouse. They said that the husbands would be the primary breadwinners and the wives would be responsible for household chores. One woman from South Jiangsu said, *“...to support the family depends mostly on*

the husband's salary." A young woman from North Anhui said, *"I want a career before marriage. After marriage there is so much housework to worry about."* No young men mentioned being worried about not finding a wife due to the unbalanced sex ratio. One woman in North Anhui did say that *"even ugly boys can find wives now"* because her village was rich.

Young people in both South Jiangsu and North Anhui seemed to think that premarital sex and cohabitation were uncommon in their communities. Few said they would engage in such behavior, although they could understand young couples who did.

Economic, Social and Community Roles

C Economic roles for women. Younger women in both provinces had more exposure to education and work opportunities than older women. Said one older woman from North Anhui: *"...young women are in heaven and we are on the ground. We aren't even 10 percent as good as them"* A woman from South Jiangsu noted, *"Women's status has improved. When it comes time for bonuses and promotions...I don't see men way ahead and women behind in my school."* However, women in South Jiangsu had wider choices for work than did women in North Anhui, who were virtually all farmers.

C Income and spending. Nearly three-quarters of the women and men in South Jiangsu received a wage for their work, compared to fewer than eight percent in North Anhui. Income from household economic activities was also common in both provinces. Some respondents had multiple sources of income. Many women in both provinces said they work to earn money for their children (for education, weddings and building houses--for their sons) and for their own old age support. One woman from North Anhui said, *"I just want to get rich to have a house for my son. I think all the time about how to do business."* A woman from North Anhui agreed, saying *"Although we now have fewer children and the economic burden is lighter, we still want to make more money. As long as we have enough to spend, we're all right."* Average family income in 1995 was significantly higher in South Jiangsu than in North Anhui (about 21,000 Yuan compared to 4,000 Yuan¹). Housing and children took up the largest portion of income for families in South Jiangsu and North Anhui.

C Social welfare benefits. Since the beginning of the new economic responsibility system initiated in the early 1980, State support for people's incomes and welfare has been reduced. Workers in the formal sector receive an array of social welfare benefits not available to rural agricultural workers. Such benefits include paid sick leave, maternity leave, old age, health, life, hazard and disability insurance, and housing allowance. There was a vast difference in the social welfare benefit net between the two provinces. With the exception of sick leave, between 40-75 percent of the respondents in South Jiangsu

¹In January, 1995, US\$1 equaled 8.4 yuan.

received the other social welfare benefits. In contrast, women and men in North Anhui, because they were farmers, were virtually unprotected by social welfare benefits.

- C Old age support.** The convergence of the new economic responsibility system and the policy advocating one child per couple that have governed people's productive and reproductive lives since the early 1980s has implications for their old age support. While people in the most prosperous county in the study (in South Jiangsu) were least concerned about support for themselves in old age, those in the second most prosperous county (also in South Jiangsu) were the most concerned. Respondents generally said they will look to their spouses for support when they are old. Respondents in each county were more likely to list sons than daughters as more dependable for old age support. Few respondents thought the government would be their source for old age support.

In the FGD most participants said sons are better than daughters for old age support because daughters marry away (although some spoke of the benefits of having "adopted sons-in-law," which meant having a son around and still having their daughters to care for them). Some said daughters are more filial than sons when it comes to helping their parents. A few older participants, however, said younger people are not doing their duty of taking care of their aging parents. Some old people spoke of the five guarantees (housing, food, clothing, health care and a decent burial) for childless elderly or for those whose children do not support them. Some older people gave very complimentary descriptions of homes for the elderly and village support, while younger people said that the elderly who have to go to those houses are looked down upon in rural areas. According to a women in North Anhui, *"There is no problem with childless men and women late in life. If they have no children, they go to the government."* A younger women from North Anhui said, however, *"You may go to an elderly home, but you will lose face. If you have children and go to an elderly home, people will laugh at you."*

- C Community participation.** Voluntary participation in community activities is expected in China. Levels of participation in some community activities were high among women and men in both provinces, including in villagers/women's committees, family planning publicity activities (e.g. meetings about family planning policies), recreation/sports/travel, and volunteer activities (e.g. planting trees).

- C Participation in family planning work.** A number of women in the FGD related their progression from being family planning workers (considered a community activity) to becoming entrepreneurs and even village and government leaders. Working in family planning (considered only slightly less arduous than collecting taxes) gave women a chance to attend social meetings and other community activities and provided a stepping stone to other work. Many related how difficult family planning was in the beginning of the program, and especially at the beginning of the one-child policy when people's fertility desires were not yet been better aligned with the government's policy. According to a former family planning worker in South Jiangsu, *"Women who are around 35 want two*

children. *It was difficult to work on family planning several years ago when couples could only have one child.*” A woman in North Anhui said, *“Family planning work is the most difficult job under the heaven. We don’t mind working hard, but the worst thing is people don’t understand our work.”* Many other past (and present) family planning workers said if a woman in China can succeed at family planning, she can succeed at anything. A woman from North Anhui added that family planning work has become easier. *“Now what is difficult is to [help people] get rich.”*

Individual Psychological and Physical Factors

- C Satisfaction with aspects of lives.** The two aspects of their lives that men and women in both provinces reported being most satisfied with were their marital relationships and their children, while the two aspects of their lives that men and women reported being least satisfied with were their jobs/income and their housing conditions. Overall, women in County A in South Jiangsu had the highest levels of satisfaction with all five aspects of their lives, while women in County D in North Anhui noted the least satisfaction with these aspects of their lives, particularly their jobs/income.
- C The perceived effect of family planning on women’s lives.** Women and men said that family planning had a positive effect on various aspects of women’s lives, including their health, household work, education, opportunities for and time at a job, ability to earn more income and more time for leisure. Overall, at least two-thirds of the respondents said that family planning was positively related to women’s health, household work, education, economic activities and leisure.

In the FGD, older women talked about feeling pressure to have more children--particularly sons--and said they regretted not having better access to family planning. Said one older woman from South Jiangsu: *“If family planning had been available earlier, my life would have been different. That is my life-long regret. Because I had too many children, I had to quit [teaching].”* A man from North Anhui said, *“I deeply feel that more children are more of a burden....I spent almost 35 years with someone in school.”*

Middle age respondents said they were compelled to use family planning, which was not always accepted in the early days of the program, particularly when the so-called one child policy was launched. Middle aged women related family planning with having fewer children and thus the ability to focus on earning money for the family. According to a woman from South Jiangsu, *“Family planning is good for health. We are relaxed in comparison to our parents, who were tired. I can have another child because my husband is an adopted son-in-law, but I don’t want to. I want more energy to work in the kindergarten.”*

Younger respondents said they want to wait for marriage until they have made something of themselves, or are at least on sure footing financially. Once they get married they will

have one child in South Jiangsu and at the most two in North Anhui. According to a young man in North Anhui, *“I’ll marry but I don’t want children for several years. I want to accomplish something.”*

China’s policy advocating one child per couple was instituted at a time when the economy was beginning to grow and people were given more freedom to pursue their own economic activities. In addition, the fertility rate had already fallen in the 1970s, indicating that people were not adverse to the idea of having fewer children. Still, while people throughout China welcomed the expanded opportunities for work than only through State enterprises and collective agriculture, few had determined in 1980 that they only wanted one child. Now, nearly 20 years later, the one-child-with-exceptions policy is a reality and most people are reconciled to having few children. People perceived the benefits of family planning primarily in relation to their ability to spend less time in childbearing and childrearing and more time pursuing economic activities to increase the prosperity of their families, which is people’s priority at present.

Recommendations

The fertility policy is more accepted now in the study areas than it was when the one-child program first started. According to one young man from North Anhui, *“At the beginning of the family planning program...people were not afraid of either the sky or the earth. But they were most afraid of the truck with the loudspeaker... the family planning propaganda truck. But now it is much better. People are knowledgeable and accepting. Family planning is more regulated.”* However, several recommendations emerged from this study on ways to improve services and address gender issues in the family planning program. The SFPC should continue its effort to extend the service orientation in the program and its attempt to extend contraceptive choice to clients. As part of that orientation, several issues emerged:

Expand Reproductive Health

- C** Extend services to young adults and to older women (in addition to men) rather than simply focusing only on ever-married women and childbearing. Provide young adults with adequate and accurate information on sex, reproductive health and family planning and ensure their access to contraceptive services.
- C** Develop messages on family planning, reproductive health and women’s health (including information from older women) to supplement and complement messages on family planning and the economy (e.g. there are other benefits than just making families wealthy).

Improve Quality of Care

- C** Increase access to other methods, in addition to the IUD and sterilization, to make a wider

range of contraceptives available.

- C Reduce the contraceptive failure rate by increasing the range of contraceptive methods available and improving the skills of family planning providers. The switch to the copper-T IUD should help reduce unplanned pregnancy. Women should be informed of the differences between the failure rates of the ring and copper-T IUD so they have more confidence in the IUD as a contraceptive method.
- C Provide special counseling for postabortion women on preventing future contraceptive failures.
- C Provide information on reproductive health and family planning through various media, such as television and radio.
- C Reconsider the four times a year “women’s tests.” The tests use a considerable amount of women’s and providers’ time that could better be used for counseling and other reproductive health services. Requiring women to have these tests four times a year (and fining them if they do not attend) cannot be justified on the grounds of quality of care, the underpinning of which is voluntarism. Providing screening for reproductive problems is laudable and educating women on the need to take care of their reproductive system is beneficial, but should not be tied to mandatory visits to the family planning or MCH clinic.
- C Educate men about safety of vasectomy and make the provision of male sterilization a priority for the program. As part of this emphasis, side effects and failure rates of male sterilization will have to be addressed by the program.

Update Training for providers

- C Incorporate “pioneer” family planning providers’ and users experiences into current provider training.
- C Training for providers on quality of care and gender issues.

Increase the Value of Daughters

- C The status of women is rising -- more women are working and contributing to the family economy. More women are involved in decision making in the family. Some families desire girls over boys, but the vestiges of son preference are strong and continue to exert a strong influence in most families. Girls receive strong social messages about their worth: They are less likely to be born, many grow up knowing their families and society consider them less desirable than boys. Women do not carry on the family line, do not inherit property, leave home on marriage, and carry the double burden of working and taking care

of the children and household. The government and society must address these social issues which translate into skewed sex ratios of boys and girls -- and the social problems those sex ratios are creating.

- C Revise the laws on inheritance.
- C Undertake a national publicity campaign on the value of girls.

1. INTRODUCTION

A. *Background*

China's family planning program is based on the most stringent fertility reduction policy in the world. Faced with the largest population, growing at what was considered an unacceptable rate, the government in 1971 initiated a "later, longer, fewer" birth control policy, and in 1979 adopted a family planning policy advocating one child per couple. As a result of these policies, its strong family planning program, and socioeconomic changes in the country, China has experienced a rapid decline in fertility, particularly in urban areas (Poston and Gu, 1986; Hardee-Cleaveland and Banister, 1988). The total fertility rate (TFR) in China fell from more than six children in the 1950s to approximately two in 1992, which implies that virtually all couples in urban areas have one child and that most couples in rural areas have two children (Chen, 1997).

Because there are generations of Chinese women alive today who have been affected very differently by family planning, China is an ideal country in which to study the effect of family planning on women's lives. Some older women did not have access to contraception and others had the choice to use contraception. Women of reproductive age are currently prescribed by law to practice family planning, or at least to bear a nationally sanctioned number of children (most likely one if they live in cities and, at most, two if they are rural residents). China's minority populations are governed by a different policy, which allows more children, generally no more than three.

Among the many changes in China during the past half century has been a fundamental shift in the status of women. Historically, women were accorded very low status in China (Lin, 1947; Creel, 1953; Lau, 1979; Stacey, 1983; Xie, 1994), while today, at least theoretically, they share equality under the law with men. While the position of women as measured by education and employment statistics has improved (CPIRC, 1994), other factors suggest that attitudes and behavior are more slow to change than laws (Davin, 1975; Parish and Whyte, 1978; Croll, 1985; Wolf, 1985; Greenhalgh and Li, 1995).

Studies conducted on the status of women since 1980 have shown that women and men generally have power in different aspects of life (CASS, 1994). In rural areas, men and women both work outside the home, but men have led in the development of household businesses while women have played an increasingly larger role in agricultural activities (Entwisle et al., 1994; Gu and Xie, 1994). In addition, women are responsible for most household tasks, although men help. Generally, men make important family decisions (Hardee-Cleaveland, 1988).

China's population policy has come into conflict with a culture that has valued males over females (Hardee, 1984, Greenhalgh, 1992; Li and Cooney, 1993). Although attitudes toward family planning are generally positive, desired family size in rural areas is two to three children, and sons are still preferred over daughters. Furthermore, women take virtually all responsibility for family planning (Gu and Xie, 1994).

The Chinese government recognizes that the family planning program has had many beneficial effects on Chinese society but also acknowledges the negative impact the program has had, particularly on women. The fertility policy has exacerbated the effects of son preference. The sex ratio at birth is abnormally high, which implies that infanticide and, more recently with the advent of ultrasound machines, sex selective abortions, occur. The problem is most acute for second and higher births in rural areas (Coale and Banister, 1994; Gu and Li, 1994). Son preference has been found to be more strongly associated with rural residence, less education, and work in agriculture (Das Gupta et al., 1997).

Another issue is aging of the population, which is most acute in the cities. By 2050, an estimated 19 percent of the population will be over 60 years of age (the percent will be considerably higher in urban areas). The government is trying to set up social security systems, but so far the government's old age support net has not been cast very wide. The government reminds people that, according to Chinese culture and law, children must support their parents. Sons have had the responsibility of taking care of the elderly, thus most families still want sons. In addition to old age support, sons can inherit family property and, in many areas of the country, are considered to carry on the family line.

Until recently, few studies in China have looked specifically at the effects of family planning policies on the various domains of women's lives, including, their roles in families, their relationships with spouses and within the community, and their opportunities for health, education, employment, and social activities. A notable exception is Zhu et al. (1997), which addresses the dual effects of the family planning program on Chinese women.

B. The Women's Studies Project

Most studies have looked at the status of women and the role that various factors play in determining a woman's use or non-use of family planning (Bulatao and Lee, 1983; Mason, 1984). A new line of research, being conducted by Family Health International (FHI) through a five year project (primarily with funding from the U.S. Agency for International Development), aims instead to understand how contraceptive use and reproductive health may have affected women's lives in terms of education, employment, family relations and quality of life (Hong and Seltzer, 1994).

The Women's Studies Project (WSP) is studying whether -- and under what circumstances -- greater contraceptive use and reduced fertility have improved women's lives. To what extent is contraceptive use the key to a more personally, socially or economically rewarding life for women, beyond the well-documented benefits of family planning to the health of women and the welfare of their children?

C. Conceptual Framework

This study draws on the WSP conceptual framework (Figure 1) to assess the effect of family planning and reproductive health and childbearing experiences on three domains of women's lives (Hardee et al., 1996). *Family Planning Experience* represents the independent or predictor variables in the framework -- women's experiences with family planning programs, with other reproductive health services, with contraceptive use, and with pregnancy and childbearing. The *Domains of Women's Lives* cluster three conceptual dimensions of women's lives -- the woman as an individual, as a member of her household and family, and as a member of her community and society. Each is composed of dependent variables hypothesized to be affected by family planning experience.

The third set of variables appears outside the internal box and is composed of *contextual factors*, both societal and individual. Societal factors include the social, political and economic context in which a woman lives and the gender norms that shape her life. Gender -- or the socially constructed multiple roles, responsibilities, and expectations that define the lives of women in contrast to the lives of men (Moser 1989; Mason 1994) -- is an organizing principal of the WSP conceptual framework. Similarly, a woman's life cycle stage and other individual characteristics shape her family planning use, her childbearing experience, and the three domains of her life: individual, family and community.

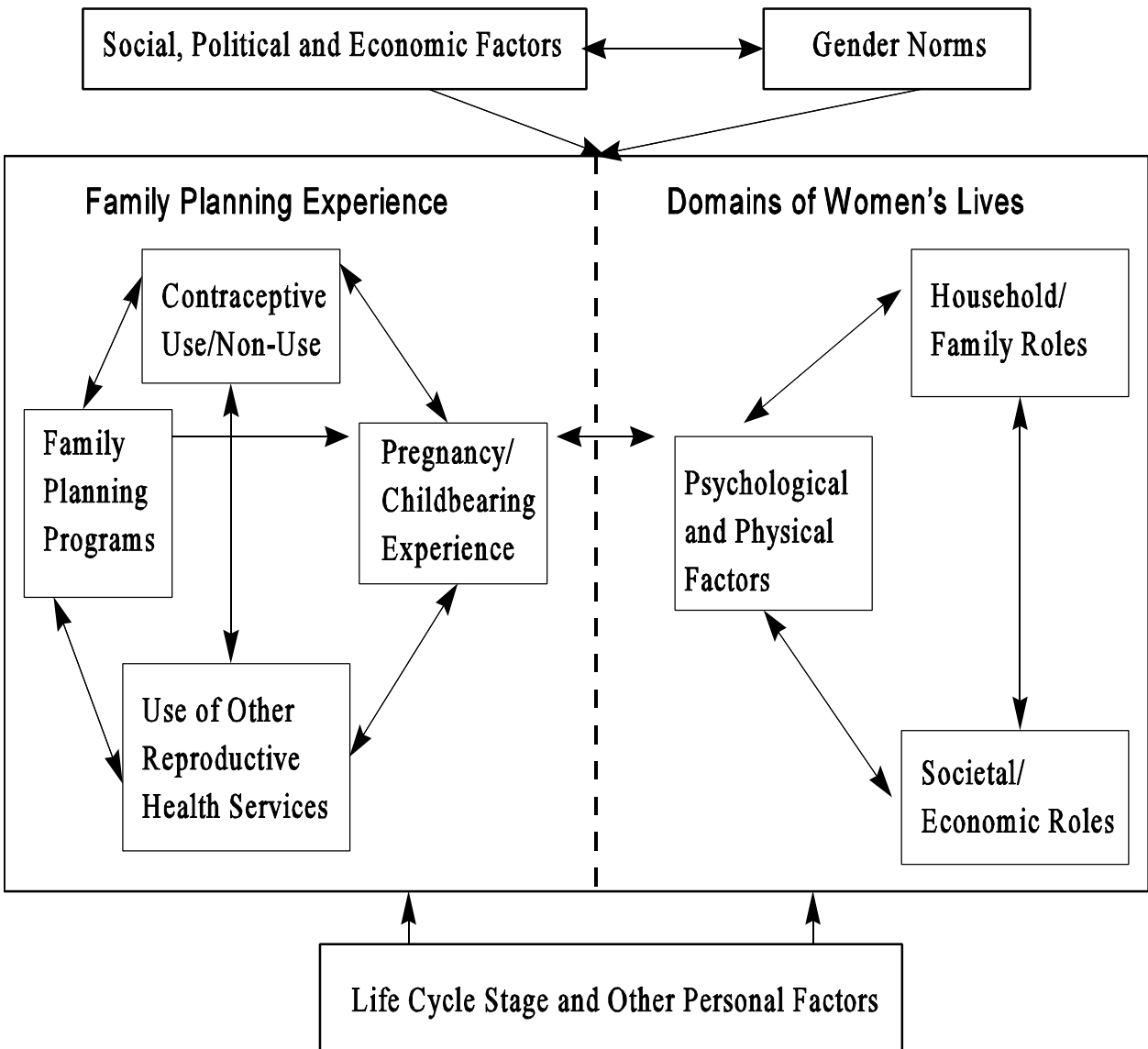
The complex reality of women's lives is simplified by hypothetically linking all the dimensions of family planning experience to all dimensions of women's lives. And, as noted by Hong and Seltzer (1994) in their framework, cause and effect can be difficult to distinguish. The bidirectional lines of causality in this conceptual framework reflect that causality can be reciprocal.

D. Objectives

The objectives of this study are to investigate the role family planning has played in three domains of women's lives -- personal, familial and social -- and the link women make between family planning and the opportunities they have had. The study investigates women's experiences with family planning methods and services and with pregnancy and childbearing. While women's views were of primary interest in this study, men's experiences with the three domains of life and their perceptions of women's experiences were also examined.

While the State Family Planning Commission (SFPC) must ensure that people still use contraception, have planned children, and keep the population growth within the goal set by the

Figure 1. Women's Studies Conceptual Framework



government, the program is now committed to providing better quality services to clients. This approach, being phased in around the country, is called the “service orientation.” The government is not revising its population policy; the SFPC is trying instead to reorient the family planning program and to deal with the effects of the policy, particularly on women. The SFPC is trying to reduce the number of abortions by enhancing pre-conception services, in part by switching from use of steel ring intrauterine devices (IUDs) to copper-bearing IUDs, which have lower failure rates. The government is also trying to link family planning with economic development activities in “fewer births/quick rich” projects, which offer women family planning information and services along with income generating opportunities. Thus, the government of China is very interested in understanding the impact of family planning on women's lives -- both the positive effects and those that have had more negative implications for women.

The research reported here complements other research and projects undertaken in China, including the Rockefeller Foundation-funded project on quality of family planning services, currently under way in China. The results will be of direct use to the Chinese government in its attempt to make the family planning program more responsive to the needs of clients, particularly women.

This study was funded through a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

2. METHODS

This study was a collaborative effort by the China Population Information and Research Center (CPIRC), an institute directly affiliated with the SFPC, and FHI. The primary responsibility of CPIRC is to assist the SFPC in monitoring the implementation of the population and family planning program and to provide consultation for policy-making and program assessment.

A. *Study Sites*

This study was carried out in two provinces: Jiangsu Province, an east coast province with a booming economy and rapid decline of fertility, and Anhui Province, representing middle China, with an agrarian economy and a slower rate of fertility decline. Within each province, CPIRC and the provincial family planning commissions chose the two counties most appropriate for the study. Within the two counties selected, discussions were held to select 10 townships for inclusion in the survey and seven townships for the focus group discussions. The purpose and the requirements of the project were explained to the local leaders in order to receive their cooperation for implementation.

The two counties in Jiangsu, located in South Jiangsu, were chosen because they have not been the site of many studies, unlike other counties in Jiangsu, which have been the site of studies on the province's rapid economic development. The counties were located next to each other to facilitate fieldwork. County A is near Suzhou city and County B is near the city of Wuxi. Both were recently ranked in the top 10 counties in China in terms of economic strength. County A is known as a national leader in trends and fashions and for both its handicrafts (particularly embroidery) and construction. Family and household industries are common. County B, which includes national demonstration models of modernized rural townships, is characterized by its industrial base. These two counties are considered rural-urbanized, or former rural areas that have become urbanized. Living standards, fertility rates and contraceptive use in Counties A and B are comparable to those of urban residents in Suzhou and Wuxi cities. Farmers in these areas have become workers in township or village enterprises with the benefits of urban life but who have not officially been recognized as urban residents.

Jiangsu is in the highest of three levels for family planning performance (in terms of both contraceptive prevalence and the total fertility rate) in the country. Family planning services have been available in the city of Suzhou since the 1960s, and in the two study counties since the 1970s. Until recently, clients generally received family planning services at county hospitals. Since 1994, services have also been offered through family planning service centers. Jiangsu is a pilot province in China for computerizing information about eligible couples.

The two counties (Counties C and D) in Anhui Province are located in North Anhui, an area considered poor, even by Anhui's standards. The two counties in Anhui are predominantly agricultural. County C has little rural enterprise, thus labor migration to urban areas is not

uncommon. County C is known for producing wine and herbs. County D, which has a weaker economy than county C, is known for production of plastic string.

Family planning in Anhui Province does not have a long history as in Jiangsu. Anhui is considered in the second tier of provinces for family planning performance. Since the mid-1980s, family planning in the two counties has been more strictly enforced, with couples who have sons prohibited from having a second child. Anhui has recently invested more in family planning services, particularly to improve services at family planning service stations, which have been a local requirement in each township since the 1970s. Local leaders are paying more attention to family planning work in the province.

B. Data Collection

Two complementary methods of data collection were used in this study: a survey and focus group discussions.

1. Survey of Women and Men

First, a survey of women and men of reproductive age was conducted in the four study sites to ascertain the influence the family planning program has had regarding marriage, childbearing and gender roles. The survey provided quantitative evidence of the effect of family planning and childbearing experience on various aspects of the lives of women and men.

The questionnaires contained sections matching the WSP conceptual framework (household and personal characteristics, pregnancy and childbearing experience, contraceptive use and abortion, family planning and reproductive health services, individual psychological and physical factors, family and household roles, and social and community roles). The questionnaires used in Anhui were modified slightly based on experience with the Jiangsu survey. A sample questionnaire is found in Attachment 1.

One village was chosen at random from each selected township; 120 households were selected at random from each selected village; and among them, 100 households were selected to be surveyed. The lists of households were derived from the lists of couples eligible for family planning, maintained by local family planning workers. Thus, the sample for this study included ever married women and men. Among the 100 households selected, women in 75 households and husbands in 25 households responded to the questionnaire (thus, there were no couples in the surveys). In all, a sample of 1,996 women and 506 men took part in the survey. Response rates were high, and substitutions were made only when the original respondents were not home and could not be located. More respondents in County A in Jiangsu had to be substituted than in other counties; thus, the sample in County A became more of a convenience sample than a random sample. Table 2.B.1 shows the distribution of female and male respondents in the survey.

Table 2.B.1.
Number of Respondents, by Sex, for Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces,
China: 1996

Sex	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Women	749	751	1,500	747	749	1,496
Men	250	250	500	254	252	506

Interviewers for the survey were family planning workers, but not workers from the same area as the respondents. In North Anhui, most of the interviewers were men, even for the female respondents. In South Jiangsu the interviewers were both men and women.

2. Focus Group Discussions

Focus Group Discussions (FGD) of women and men were used to complement the findings from the surveys. The FGD also yielded qualitative information on the psychological and behavioral underpinnings of the effects of contraceptive use and childbearing experience. The FGD collected data regarding the views and ideas about family planning from different age groups in China, with special attention to the positive and negative effects of family planning on women's lives. The FGD were conducted in seven townships in South Jiangsu (different townships from those included in the survey) and seven in North Anhui (the seven were among the 10 townships included in the survey.) FGD were conducted with the following groups:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Older women (aged 55-65) | 2. Older men (aged 60-70) |
| 3. Married women (reproductive age) | 4. Married men (reproductive age) |
| 5. Unmarried women | 6. Unmarried men |
| 7. Women entrepreneurs | |

Two FGD were conducted with the seven groups above in each of the study areas. Twenty-eight FGD each were conducted in both South Jiangsu and North Anhui, for a total of 56 FGD. Each session had 5 to 12 participants. In total, 375 people participated in the FGD (220 women and 155 men), as shown in Table 2.B.2. Participants for the FGD were chosen by local leaders, based on discussions with the research team on the purpose of the FGD and the characteristics of participants desired (as noted above).

Table 2.B.2.
Number of Participants in the Focus Group Discussions, By Group, for Women and Men in
South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996

Sex	Older women and men		Reproductive age women and men		Female entrepreneurs		Young unmarried women and men		Total
	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	
Female	25	28	32	25	24	26	32	28	220
Male	27	28	25	26	--	--	24	25	155
Number of cases	52	56	57	51	24	26	56	53	375

The groups, which met in various public places, were moderated by staff from the CPIRC. Although it is ideal for the moderator to be similar to the group, particularly in terms of sex and age, this was not always possible. Some groups of women were moderated by men and some men's groups had female moderators or note takers. In addition, a local representative was present to translate, if necessary. Some groups were observed by officials from the township or province, but these observers were not known by the participants.

Through discussions with women and men of different ages, a comparison between the historical and present situation regarding family planning and women's lives was undertaken, and the ramifications of family planning within a changing social context were explored. The guides used in the FGD with female and male participants were designed to explore gender differences in women's and men's roles in daily life and employment. The FGD with successful female entrepreneurs (*nu qiang ren*) were conducted to identify any special characteristics that distinguish the effects family planning and childbearing experiences on this group from the experiences of other women.

C. Fieldwork

The survey questionnaires for women and men were drafted by CPIRC and FHI, with final design by CPIRC. The FGD and in-depth interview guides were prepared by CPIRC.

Fieldwork in Jiangsu and Anhui Provinces was conducted between June and November 1996, as shown in Table 2.D.1.

Table 2.D.1.
Fieldwork for the Survey of Women and Men in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces,
China: 1996

Location	Field duration	Researchers	Local assistants
Jiangsu Province			
County A	4-13 June 1996, (10 days)	8 (3 females)	30 (27 females)
County B	7-16 June 1996, (10 days)	7 (3 females)	37 (30 females)
Anhui Province			
County C	10-18 November 1996 (9 days)	8 (3 females)	47 (10 females)
County D	14-22 November 1996 (9 days)	8 (3 females)	48 (8 females)

Local survey workers were trained on questionnaire administration and data collection. During data collection, the quality supervision group from the CPIRC research team monitored daily progress on the survey and reviewed the questionnaires.

The FGD were conducted by working groups composed of two members of the CPIRC research team (one moderator and one recorder), one local assistant (as the note takers and transcriber of the tape recording afterwards). For each selected township, working teams held two FGDs each day, one in the morning and another in the afternoon. On average, two working groups went to two selected townships for FGDs in one day, thus the teams were able to conduct 14 FGD sessions in four days. After each FGD, the local assistants were responsible for transcribing the notes from the tapes. Members of the CPIRC research team were responsible for reviewing the notes from the tape recording (conducting quality checks) and for collecting the discussion notes.

Data entry for the 2,000 questionnaires from the Jiangsu survey were completed and cleaned in July 1996. Data entry for the transcription of 28 sessions of FGD from Jiangsu were completed and cleaned in August 1996. The data entry for the 2,000 questionnaires from the Anhui survey was begun in January 1997 and completed in April 1997. Data entry for the transcription of 28 sessions of FGD in Anhui survey was completed in May 1997.

D. Data Analysis

The data collected from the survey and focus group discussions were processed and analyzed both at CPIRC and FHI. Survey data were entered and analyzed using the statistical packages SAS (for data entry and some analysis) and SPSS (for some analysis). Transcripts from the FGD were typed in Chinese and summaries were translated into English and were analyzed by hand by the investigators. Data analysis was conducted jointly by FHI and CPIRC.

In the report, when quoting from the focus group discussions, the name of the speaker was omitted and a representative code was placed in parenthesis behind the quotation. For example, (owat2-8) indicates that the person was in the old women group (ow) from North Anhui (a) in area (t), group 2 from page 8 of the owat2 transcription.

E. Study Limitations

This study was conducted in a social context in which people are generally not inclined to criticize government policies and programs, especially one as important as China's family planning program. While the research team hopes participants gave their own responses to questions, it is possible that the answers to the questions posed in this study reflect what women and men thought the government would want to hear. It is also possible that the family planning program has been operational for so long that women and men have internalized the messages that family planning and the small family norm are good, and therefore that family planning must be beneficial to people's lives. While this might be possible for survey responses, it is less likely for the results of the FGD, in which people, albeit selected by local leaders for participation, talked openly for over an hour about their experiences with family planning.

3. RESULTS

Discussion of the results of this study follows the WSP conceptual framework. Section A describes women's and men's life cycles and other personal factors (including the socioeconomic context of their lives). Section B covers childbearing experiences, and Section C discusses contraceptive use and abortion. Section D describes people's experiences with family planning and reproductive health services. Sections E, F and G deal with the domains of people's lives including their family and household roles, their social and economic roles and the personal and psychological aspects of their lives.

Results from both the survey and FGD are presented in Chapter 3. Unless otherwise specified, tables in this chapter refer to results of the surveys of women and men in South Jiangsu and North Anhui.

A. *Life Cycle and Other Personal Factors*

1. Age

The women in the survey ranged in age from 20 to 55, with an average age of 35.5 in South Jiangsu and 33.0 in North Anhui (Table 3.A.1a). The men ranged in age from 20 to 59, with an average age of 39.5 in South Jiangsu and 33.0 in North Anhui. Women in County B in South Jiangsu had the highest average age (37.7). The men in South Jiangsu were, on average, about six years older than the men in North Anhui.

Table 3.A.1b shows the ages of the participants in the focus group discussions. Participants ranged in age from late teens to 70s. The FGD were arranged by age groups, thus, except in the female entrepreneur group, in which the women ranged in age from 25 to 59, there was no overlap of age groups in the FGD

Table 3.A.1a.
Age of Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China:
1996
(In percent)

Age	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Women						
24 years or younger	3.2	2.5	2.9	9.0	8.8	8.9
25-29	27.9	14.8	21.3	32.8	31.8	32.3
30-34	33.2	22.5	27.9	28.5	23.2	25.9
35-39	16.0	16.1	16.5	8.7	11.3	10.0
40-44	14.6	19.3	16.9	10.0	11.6	10.8
45 or older	5.1	23.8	14.5	11.0	13.2	12.1
Average age (years)	33.30	37.72	35.51	32.61	33.34	32.98
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
Men						
24 years or younger	--	--	--	7.5	4.0	5.7
25-29	14.0	12.0	13.0	33.1	34.9	34.0
30-34	20.4	19.6	20.0	28.0	28.6	28.3
35-39	18.8	12.4	15.6	8.7	12.3	10.5
40-44	21.6	19.6	20.6	12.2	9.9	11.1
45 or older	25.2	36.4	30.8	10.6	10.3	10.5
Average age (years)	38.70	40.23	39.47	33.03	32.99	33.01
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 3.A.1b. Age of Focus Group Discussion Participants, by Group, for Women and Men in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996														
Age group	Older women and men				Reproductive age women and men				Female entrepreneurs		Young unmarried women and men			
	Women		Men		Women		Men		Women		Women		Men	
	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui
60 and above	6	10	19	16										
55-59	10	11	8	6						1				
50-54	9	4		3					6					
45-49		3		3					6	6				
40-44					7	3	7	2	6	7				
35-39					11	7	7	7	4	6				
30-34					10	7	7	12	2	4				
25-29					4	8	4	5		2	7	1	12	3
20-24											25	17	12	20
Below 24												10		2
Number of cases	25	28	27	28	32	25	25	26	24	26	32	28	24	25

2. Age at Marriage

Virtually all the women and men in the survey were married (more than 98 percent), with the remaining either divorced or widowed (not shown in a table). Table 3.A.2 shows the average age at marriage for women and men in their 20s, 30s, 40s and 50s. Comparing age at marriage for respondents in their 20s and those in their 40s, the average age at marriage appears to have gone down by about one year for both women and men in both provinces. The average age at marriage for all age cohorts of women and men was higher in South Jiangsu than in North Anhui. Generally, women got married when they were 22 to 24 while men got married between the ages of 23 to 26.

Table 3.A.2.
Average Age at First Marriage, by Current Age Cohort, for Women and Men in Four Counties in
South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In years)

Age cohort	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Women/wives¹						
20-29	22.7	22.9	22.8	22.1	22.6	22.3
30-39	23.2	24.0	23.6	22.2	23.2	22.7
40-49	23.9	24.6	24.3	22.9	23.6	23.3
50 or older	21.8	23.3	23.0	21.4	24.4	22.3
Average age at marriage	23.2	24.0	23.6	22.3	22.7	23.1
Number of cases	(999)	(996)	(1,995)	(998)	(1,001)	(1,999)
Men/husbands¹						
20-29	24.1	24.9	24.4	22.6	23.1	22.9
30-39	24.5	26.7	25.5	22.5	23.5	23.0
40-49	25.4	26.7	26.2	23.3	24.0	23.7
50 or older	23.4	26.4	25.8	21.6	23.5	22.2
Average age at marriage	24.6	26.3	25.5	22.7	23.0	23.1
Number of cases	(999)	(996)	(1,995)	(998)	(1,001)	(1,999)

¹This table includes the age at first marriage for the female respondents and for the wives of the male respondents. This table includes the age at first marriage for the male respondents and the husbands of the female respondents.

3. Education

Educational attainment differed between the two provinces, for women and men (Table 3.A.3a). In both provinces, men tended to have more education than women. Less than 4 percent of the women had no education in South Jiangsu, compared to 43 percent of the women in County C and 31 percent of the women in County D in North Anhui. Middle school was the most common level of education for male respondents in both provinces and for female respondents in South Jiangsu, while women in North Anhui were most likely to have attended primary school.

Table 3.A.3a.
Educational Level of Women and Men, in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui
Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Education	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Women						
Illiterate	0.3	3.9	2.1	42.6	30.7	36.6
Primary school	26.8	31.2	29.0	33.6	50.7	42.2
Middle school	61.4	55.1	58.3	22.9	17.8	20.3
Senior school	11.2	9.7	10.5	0.9	0.8	0.9
College or higher	0.3	0.3	0.2	--	--	--
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
Men						
Illiterate	0.4	0.4	0.4	12.6	4.4	8.5
Primary school	12.0	22.0	17.0	29.5	27.8	28.7
Middle school	51.2	59.6	55.4	51.2	61.1	56.1
Senior school	34.8	17.8	24.8	6.7	6.3	6.5
College or higher	1.6	3.2	2.4	--	0.4	0.2
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Educational attainment of participants in the FGD showed a pattern of young women and men having higher levels of education than people age 45 or older (Table 3.A.3b). No older participants in the FGD had received a college education, compared to a few participants in the young people's group, both in South Jiangsu and North Anhui.

Table 3.A.3b.
Educational Attainment of Focus Group Discussion Participants, for Women and Men in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996

Education level	Older women and men				Reproductive age women and men				Female entrepreneurs		Young unmarried women and men			
	Women		Men		Women		Men		Women		Women		Men	
	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui	South Jiangsu	North Anhui
Institutions of higher learning					6				3		3	2	8	3
Senior middle or technical school	1		1		22	10	15	5	9	9	21	9	9	3
Middle school	10	3	9	5	10	5	4	16	10	11	6	11	5	16
Primary school	9	7	14	16		9		5	2	6		6		3
No schooling	5	18	3	7		1								
Number of cases	25	28	27	28	32	25	25	26	24	26	30 ¹	28	22 ¹	25

¹Two young women and two young men in South Jiangsu did not report their levels of schooling.

4. Occupation

The occupations of the survey respondents in the two provinces differed considerably (Table 3.A.4). While 96 percent of women and 90 percent of men in North Anhui were farmers, only 21 percent of the women and 13 percent of the men in South Jiangsu worked as farmers. A more common occupation in South Jiangsu, noted by 62 percent of women and 47 percent of men, was worker in a local enterprise. Participants in the FGD did not indicate their occupations.

Table 3.A.4.
Occupation of Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces,
China: 1996 (In percent)

Occupation	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Women						
Farmer	27.1	15.6	21.3	96.9	94.9	95.9
Worker ¹	55.9	68.2	62.1	0.4	0.3	0.3
Self-employed	11.9	8.4	10.1	2.1	1.6	1.9
Cadre ²	3.2	3.1	3.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other	1.9	4.8	3.3	0.4	3.1	1.7
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
Men						
Farmer	23.2	4.4	13.8	90.9	89.7	90.3
Worker ¹	46.8	46.8	46.8	2.4	1.6	2.0
Self-employed	14.4	15.2	14.8	4.3	2.8	3.6
Cadre ²	15.2	20.0	17.6	2.4	2.0	2.2
Other	0.4	13.6	7.0	--	4.0	2.0
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

¹Workers refer to employees in local enterprises.

²Cadres can be state employed persons, including for example, government officials, bureaucrats, teachers, and medical doctors.

5. Characteristics of Household Members

Households of survey respondents ranged in size from two to nine persons. Survey respondents in County A in South Jiangsu lived in the smallest households with 3.4 persons, compared to 3.8 persons in County B and 3.9 in both counties in North Anhui (Table 3.A.5). Fewer than four percent of the women and men lived in households with only two people. Households in South Jiangsu, on average, had equal numbers of males and females, while households in North Anhui had an average sex ratio of 111 males and 100 females.

Table 3.A.5.
Number of Usual Members in Households in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui
Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Usual household members	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Two persons	2.6	3.1	2.9	3.6	4.5	4.0
Three persons	71.1	44.6	57.8	34.0	31.2	32.6
Four persons	12.3	26.7	19.5	38.1	37.7	37.9
Five persons	11.8	18.1	15.0	17.5	19.7	18.6
Six persons	1.9	6.1	4.0	5.0	5.8	5.4
Seven persons	0.3	1.1	0.7	1.6	1.0	1.3
Eight persons	--	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Nine persons	--	0.2	0.1	--	--	--
Average number of household members	3.4	3.8	3.6	3.9	3.9	3.9
Sex ratio of household members	103.2	97.6	100.2	108.3	113.0	110.6
Number of household members	(3,339)	(3,850)	(7249)	(3,927)	(3,953)	(7,880)
Number of respondents ¹	(999)	(1001)	(2,000)	(1001)	(1001)	(2,002)

¹This number of respondents includes women and men.

6. Housing Characteristics

Differences in housing in the two provinces were striking, and yet the housing conditions in both provinces illustrate the growth of new housing in prosperous rural areas of China (Table 3.A.6). Nearly 95 percent of the respondents in South Jiangsu lived in houses of two stories or more, while 94 percent of the respondents in North Anhui lived in houses made of brick and tile. Most respondents in South Jiangsu (74 percent) had access to running water, while respondents in North Anhui were more likely to get their water from a machine-operated well. More respondents in South Jiangsu had access to flush toilets than did those in North Anhui, where virtually all respondents used non-flushing toilet bowls in their homes. It is interesting to note that 40 percent of households in South Jiangsu still used traditional buckets for their toilets, even though they lived in new multistory houses. This may be because housing construction has outpaced the building of sewer systems in some townships and villages.

Table 3.A.6.
Housing Characteristics in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China:
1996
(In percent)

Item	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Type of construction						
Clay/brick/straw	--	--	--	5.9	5.0	5.4
Brick and tile	8.8	1.0	4.9	93.3	94.3	93.8
Two or more stories	91.1	98.2	94.6	0.4	0.2	0.3
Other	0.1	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5
Source of drinking water						
Running water	80.7	67.3	74.0	1.1	3.1	2.1
Machine well	4.5	5.4	5.0	82.5	94.8	88.7
Well	14.7	27.1	20.9	15.6	1.6	8.6
Other	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.8	0.5	0.6
Toilet						
None/bucket	22.9	57.1	40.1	--	--	--
Public	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6
Bowl/no flush	3.7	12.7	8.2	99.0	99.1	99.1
Flush	72.8	29.8	51.3	0.3	0.2	0.2
Other	--	--	--	0.1	--	0.1
Number of cases ¹	(999)	(1001)	(2,000)	(1,001)	(1,001)	(2,002)

¹This number of respondents includes both women and men.

7. Ownership of Consumer Goods and Means of Transportation

China has seen a proliferation of ownership of consumer goods over the last two decades. While ownership of televisions and bicycles was common among households in all four counties, households in South Jiangsu were more likely to own all other consumer goods and means of transportation, with the exception of tractors, which were more common in agrarian North Anhui (Table 3.A.7). Ownership of refrigerators, washing machines and motorcycles was common in South Jiangsu but not in North Anhui. Surprisingly, only about half of the households in North Anhui owned radios, compared to 80 percent of households in South Jiangsu. Some households had more than one of some consumer goods and means of transportation, particularly bicycles.

Table 3.A.7.
Ownership of Consumer Goods and Means of Transportation Among Households in Four
Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996 (In percent)

Item ¹	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Radio	85.2	75.1	80.1	39.7	57.8	48.2
Television	99.9	99.1	99.5	72.8	81.3	88.3
Refrigerator	62.2	61.4	61.8	2.3	2.2	2.2
Washing machine	84.7	86.5	85.6	5.7	10.5	8.1
Bicycle	99.6	98.7	99.2	96.0	97.2	96.6
Motorcycle	24.7	39.6	32.1	2.4	3.3	2.8
Car	2.3	1.7	2.0	0.9	0.8	0.8
Tractor	5.1	3.2	4.3	16.7	7.9	12.4
Number of cases ²	(999)	(1,001)	(2,000)	(1,001)	(1,001)	(2,002)

¹ Note: Some families owned more than one of some of these consumer goods.

² This number of respondents includes both women and men.

8. Summary of Section A

- C** *Age and Age at Marriage.* Women in this study were, on average, in their early to mid-30s, while the men were in their mid- to late-30s. Virtually all the women and men in the study were married; women generally got married between the ages of 22 and 24 while men married between the ages of 23 and 26. Age at marriage appeared to have gone down by about one year for women and men in their 20s compared to those in their 40s.
- C** *Educational Attainment and Occupation.* Educational attainment was higher in South Jiangsu than in North Anhui, for both women and men, and in all counties, men tended to have more education than women. Information from the FGD participants indicated that younger women and men had higher levels of educational attainment than did older participants. Most of the men and women in North Anhui worked as farmers, while the most common occupation in South Jiangsu was worker in a local enterprise.
- C** *Household size and characteristics.* Respondents lived in households that were, on average 3.6 people in South Jiangsu and 3.8 in North Anhui. Differences in housing in the two provinces illustrates the growth of new housing in prosperous rural areas of China. Nearly 95 percent of the respondents in South Jiangsu lived in houses of two stories or more, while 94 percent of the respondents in North Anhui lived in houses made of brick and tile. Households in both areas owned bicycles and televisions, but households in South Jiangsu were more likely to own virtually all other consumer goods and means of transportation, with the exception of tractors, which were more common in North Anhui.

B. Childbearing Experience

Generally, women in the survey over age 40 had their children in the 1960s and 1970s, women in their 30s had their families in the 1980s, and women in their 20s are having their children in the 1990s. During the Cultural Revolution in the mid-1960s through the mid-1970s, family planning was caught in the disarray of civil society and was not widely implemented. The late-spaced-few (*wan xi shao*) policy began in the mid-1970s and was more widely implemented in Jiangsu than in Anhui. The policy advocating one child per couple was implemented in the 1980s, and has remained in place in the 1990s, with some fluctuations and exceptions² (Hardee-Cleaveland and Banister, 1986; Li, 1994; Thomas and Price, 1996).

1. Knowledge of Population Policy

Jiangsu has enforced the policy advocating one child per couple since its national inception in 1979. Anhui, having a poorer, agrarian population, more readily allows couples a second child, particularly if the first is a girl. This policy is sometimes referred to as the “daughter only” policy. Women and men in South Jiangsu and North Anhui are familiar with the family planning policy in their area (Table 3.B.1). More than 70 percent of the women and men in South Jiangsu said they were permitted to have one child, compared to only 36 to 37 percent of the women and men in North Anhui. In North Anhui, over half (53 percent of the women and 54 percent of the men) said they could have two children. Around two percent of the respondents in both provinces said they were permitted to have three children, and a few said there was no limit to the number of children they could have, or they did not know the limit. Those were generally older respondents who were not subject to the current family planning policy.

2. Number of Pregnancies and Births

The difference in policy between South Jiangsu and North Anhui is evident in pregnancy and childbearing statistics. The average number of live births for women in South Jiangsu is about 1.3 (0.7 sons and 0.6 daughters) compared to 1.8 (1.0 sons and 0.8 daughters) in North Anhui (Table 3.B.2a). As shown in Table 3.B.2a, the average number of live births declined as the age of the women declined. Women age 45 and older had 2.0 live births, on average, in South Jiangsu, compared to 1.1 for women ages 30 to 34 (who were likely to have completed their childbearing). In Anhui, women age 45 and older have had, on average 2.9 live births, compared to 1.9 for women aged 30-34. By age 25, most women in both provinces had at least one child.

²Reasons for allowing second or higher parity births can include: first child died or disabled; remarriage; residence in remote areas; ethnic minorities; those working as minors; the disabled; those who returned from overseas or disabled veterans; special permit; uxori-local marriage; single male child for two generations; no male offspring among brothers; first child a daughter; one of the partners' brothers or sisters is infertile; and couple in which one of the partners is an only child.

Table 3.B.1.
Number of Children Permitted Under the Family Planning Policy in the Community, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Item	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
One	84.6	62.7	73.6	37.6	34.3	35.9
Two	13.9	27.2	20.5	53.8	52.4	53.1
Three	0.4	3.2	1.8	0.8	3.9	2.3
No limit	1.1	5.8	3.5	3.9	2.9	3.4
Don't know/NA	--	1.1	0.5	3.9	6.6	5.2
Number of cases	(735)	(740)	(1,475)	(716)	(700)	(1,416)
According to men						
One	77.8	63.3	70.6	33.5	41.2	37.4
Two	14.9	28.2	21.5	56.6	50.6	53.6
Three	0.4	3.7	2.0	2.9	2.0	2.5
No limit	6.9	3.3	5.1	2.9	1.6	2.3
Don't know/NA	--	1.6	0.8	4.1	4.5	4.3
Number of cases	(248)	(245)	(493)	(242)	(245)	(487)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 3.B.2a.
Average Number of Live Births, By Age Category of Women, in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996

Age category ¹	South Jiangsu						North Anhui					
	County A		County B		Subtotal		County C		County D		Subtotal	
	Ave.	No. ²	Ave.	No.	Ave.	No.	Ave.	No.	Ave.	No.	Ave.	No.
Total	1.1	999	1.4	1,001	1.3	2,000	1.7	998	1.9	1,001	1.8	1,999
20-24	0.7	30	0.8	25	0.8	55	0.8	89	0.7	78	0.7	167
25-29	1.0	239	1.0	151	1.0	390	1.1	328	1.1	331	1.1	659
30-34	1.1	321	1.1	224	1.1	545	1.9	282	1.8	238	1.9	520
35-39	1.0	163	1.2	159	1.1	322	2.3	87	2.4	118	2.4	205
40-44	1.2	162	1.5	195	1.3	357	2.6	106	2.8	120	2.7	226
45 or older	1.9	84	2.1	247	2.0	331	2.7	106	3.1	116	2.9	222

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

¹The age categories refer to the ages of the women in the survey and the ages of the wives of the men in the survey.

²This table includes the responses of women (for themselves) and men (for their wives) together.

Childbearing among the FGD participants showed a trend similar to that found among survey respondents (Table 3.B.2b). FGD participants over 60 years of age in South Jiangsu had an average of four children and in North Anhui, five children, compared to one child and two children, respectively, for participants between the ages of 35 and 39 in the two provinces.

Table 3.B.2b.
Number of Children of Focus Group Discussion Participants, by Age Group, in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996

Age group	South Jiangsu		North Anhui	
	Number of cases	Number of children	Number of cases	Number of children
25-29	4	1.0	15	1.1
30-34	19	1.0	23	1.9
35-39	22	1.0	20	2.3
40-44	20	1.1	12	2.5
45-49	6	1.8	12	2.7
50-54	15	2.1	7	3.3
55-59	18	2.6	18	3.6
60 and above	25	4.1	26	5.1
Number of cases	129	2.0	133	2.9

3. Number of Children and Their Sex Composition

Analysis of the number of children and their sex composition among survey respondents reflects the family planning policies prevailing in each province and the continuing desire for sons (Table 3.B.3). In County A in Jiangsu couples generally had one child, and only a few went on to have a second child. In County B, couples were more likely than in County A to have a second child. In Anhui, couples with daughters were allowed to have a second child, and the survey results indicate that many did so. While the data in Table 3.B.3 are not parity progression sex ratios, the patterns still indicate that, with the exception of County A, couples continued childbearing until they had a satisfactory sex ratio among their children. For women and men with one child, the sex of that only child was more likely to be male than female -- even in more agrarian County A in South Jiangsu. Couples with two children were least likely to have two daughters, particularly in North Anhui. The social aspects of sex preference are discussed in Section E.

Table 3.B.3.
Number of Children and Their Sex Composition, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996 (In percent)

Number and sex composition	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
No children	1.9	1.3	1.6	4.4	6.3	5.3
One son only	47.9	37.6	42.7	20.9	17.4	19.1
One daughter only	41.9	26.8	34.3	14.7	14.3	14.5
One son and one daughter	4.5	16.8	10.7	24.6	25.2	24.9
Two sons	1.9	6.5	4.2	11.8	9.2	10.5
Two daughters	1.3	6.4	3.9	4.4	1.5	2.9
Three sons	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.6	2.5	2.1
Two sons and one daughter	0.1	0.9	0.5	6.3	7.3	6.8
One son and two daughters	--	1.9	0.9	6.4	9.3	7.9
Three daughters	0.1	0.9	0.5	1.5	0.7	1.1
Four or more children	--	0.7	0.3	3.3	6.3	4.8
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
According to men						
No children	0.8	2.4	1.6	3.6	2.8	3.2
One son only	45.6	29.6	37.6	19.1	25.0	22.1
One daughter only	36.0	33.2	34.6	14.7	12.7	13.7
One son and one daughter	8.8	15.2	12.0	24.3	21.8	23.1
Two sons	4.8	7.2	6.0	9.2	12.3	10.7
Two daughters	1.6	6.4	4.0	5.6	1.6	3.6
Three sons	0.8	0.8	0.8	3.6	1.6	2.6
Two sons and one daughter	0.4	1.2	0.8	7.1	5.9	6.6
One son and two daughters	0.4	3.2	1.8	6.4	7.5	6.9
Three daughters	0.4	0.4	0.4	--	1.2	0.6
Four or more children	0.4	0.4	0.4	6.4	7.5	6.9
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(251)	(252)	(503)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Analysis of sex ratios for women and men with one, two and three children also reveals a bias for sons (Table 3.B.4). For families reported by women, the average sex ratio among all children was 113 sons to 100 daughters in South Jiangsu and 126 sons to 100 daughters in North Anhui. The sex ratios for one child families was 125 in South Jiangsu and 132 in North Anhui. Sex ratios fell in South Jiangsu for two child families (104), while they increased in two child families in North Anhui (149). The three child families with lower sex ratios in both provinces (except in County A) are likely those that have daughters first and then stop after having a son. The sex ratios reported by the men for their families differed from those reported by women with no distinct patterns in the differences by provinces. Men in Counties A and D reported higher sex ratios among their children than did women, while the opposite was true in Counties B and C.

Table 3.B.4.
Sex Ratios of Children, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996 (In percent)

Sex ratios of children ¹	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
All children	115.3	110.8	112.7	125.9	125.4	125.7
In one-child families	114.3	140.3	124.5	141.8	121.5	131.8
In two-child families	114.8	100.9	103.6	144.0	155.0	149.0
In three-or more child families	200.0	57.1	154.2	98.7	106.8	103.3
Number of children	(975)	(865)	(1,840)	(1,333)	(1,418)	(2,751)
According to men						
All children	133.6	96.0	111.8	125.1	144.6	134.5
In one-child families	126.7	89.1	108.7	129.7	196.9	160.9
In two-child families	153.3	105.7	120.0	120.2	185.7	147.4
In three-or more child families	137.5	91.7	103.1	128.2	102.0	114.1
Number of children	(229)	(347)	(646)	(475)	(477)	(952)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

¹The sex ratios are not parity sex ratios.

4. Summary of Section B

C *Adherence to Policy on Childbearing.* Couples knew and were adhering, for the most part, to the fertility policies in their areas. South Jiangsu strictly enforced the policy advocating one child per couple, with few exceptions, while North Anhui had a more relaxed one-child policy in which couples whose first children were daughters were allowed to apply to have another child. Fertility has declined in both survey areas,

reflecting national trends. Older women in South Jiangsu (aged 45 and older) had an average of 2.0 live births compared to 1.1 among women ages 30 to 34. In North Anhui, women age 45 and over had an average of 2.9 children while women ages 30 to 34 had 1.9 children.

- C** ***Sex Ratios of Children.*** Women in South Jiangsu had an average of 0.7 sons and 0.6 daughters, compared with 1.0 sons and 0.8 daughters in North Anhui. For families reported by women, the average sex ratio among all children was 113 sons to 100 daughters in South Jiangsu and 126 sons to 100 daughters in North Anhui.

C. *Contraceptive Use And Experience with Abortion*

Contraceptive use among women of reproductive age in China is high. According to a national fertility and contraceptive use survey conducted by the SFPC in 1992, the contraceptive prevalence rate for women of reproductive age was 85 percent for China (88 percent for Jiangsu and 84 percent for Anhui.) Use of contraceptive methods in most parts of China is based on fertility rather than on personal choice. Couples with one child are pressed to use the IUD and those with two or more are expected to have a sterilization (usually for the wife).

1. Use of Contraceptive Methods

More than 90 percent of the respondents in the survey reported that they (or their partners) were currently using contraception, mostly the IUD and sterilization (Tables 3.C.1 and 3.C.2). Some 80 percent of the respondents in South Jiangsu and some 30 percent of the respondents in North Anhui said they were using the IUD. In South Jiangsu about 11 percent of the respondents reported that they or their partners were sterilized, compared to around 60 percent of respondents in North Anhui.

Female sterilization was more prevalent than male sterilization in South Jiangsu because it is considered more reliable by family planning workers, in addition to being more acceptable among most couples. For awhile in Anhui, both wives and husbands used the sterilization called the “double guarantee,” in which both partners were sterilized. The double guarantee was promoted in cases where the male was first sterilized, but due to some failures, local family planning workers persuaded women age 35 or younger with husbands who were sterilized to also be sterilized -- creating the double guarantee. In North Anhui, male sterilization was common, particularly in County C. Increasingly, female sterilization was being recommended to couples since family planning workers consider it more effective than male sterilization.

Table 3.C.1 shows that respondents in South Jiangsu had been using their current method of contraception for more years on average (about 10 years) than had respondents in North Anhui (about six years). The duration of use in each province corresponds to the respective fertility patterns, with couples in South Jiangsu ending childbearing before couples in North Anhui.

2. Parity, Sex of Children and Contraceptive Use

Contraceptive use patterns in this study corresponded to the fertility levels in each province since most couples had one child in South Jiangsu (and thus used the IUD) while more couples in North Anhui had two children (and were sterilized). As Tables 3.C.3 and 3.C.4 show, more than 90 percent of couples with one child in both South Jiangsu and North Anhui used an IUD. It is interesting to note that the link between fertility levels and contraceptive use was even more pronounced in North Anhui than in South Jiangsu. In North Anhui, more than 90 percent of couples with two or more children had been sterilized, while in South Jiangsu, contraceptive use was more mixed between sterilization and the IUD for couples with two or more children.

Table 3.C.1.
Family Planning Use, According to Women in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui
Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Family planning use	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Ever use FP						
Yes	98.1	99.1	98.6	93.4	92.4	92.9
No	1.9	0.9	1.4	6.6	7.6	7.1
Currently use FP						
Yes	97.6	96.7	97.1	91.7	89.6	90.6
No	2.4	3.3	2.9	8.3	10.4	9.4
Current method used						
None	2.4	3.3	2.9	8.3	10.4	9.4
Female sterilization ¹	5.7	13.0	9.4	14.5	46.5	30.5
Male sterilization ¹	0.5	0.7	0.6	43.2	14.3	28.7
IUD	88.0	75.9	81.9	33.7	28.7	31.2
NORPLANT	--	--	--	0.3	0.1	0.2
Pill	2.1	4.3	3.2	--	--	--
Condom	1.1	1.5	1.3	--	--	--
Rhythm	0.1	0.7	0.4	--	--	--
Other	--	0.7	0.3	--	--	--
Average years using current method	8.7	10.7	9.7	6.4	5.1	5.7
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)

¹Respondents were only permitted to list one method, thus it is likely that women mentioned female sterilization first while men mentioned male sterilization (in the cases where both a wife and husband were sterilized). It is not also not possible to tell if women use condoms in addition to another method.

Table 3.C.2
Family Planning Use, According to Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui
Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Family planning use	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Ever use FP						
Yes	99.2	96.8	98.0	92.2	96.4	94.3
No	0.8	3.2	2.0	7.9	3.6	5.7
Currently use FP						
Yes	99.2	96.4	97.8	89.4	94.0	91.7
No	0.8	3.6	2.2	10.6	6.0	8.3
Current method used						
None	0.8	3.6	2.2	10.6	3.6	8.3
Female sterilization ¹	11.6	13.6	12.6	16.9	22.6	19.8
Male sterilization ¹	1.6	--	0.8	43.7	38.1	40.9
IUD	82.8	78.4	80.6	28.0	33.3	30.6
NORPLANT	--	--	--	0.4	--	0.2
Pill	2.8	3.2	3.0	--	--	--
Condom	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	--	0.2
Rhythm	--	--	--	--	--	--
Other	--	--	--	--	--	--
Average years using current method	12.5	11.3	11.9	6.1	5.4	5.7
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

¹Respondents were only permitted to list one method, thus it is likely that women mentioned female sterilization first while men mentioned male sterilization (in the cases where both a wife and husband were sterilized). It is not also not possible to tell if women use condoms in addition to another method of contraception.

In North Anhui, the sex of children bore little relationship to contraceptive method used (Tables 3.C.3 and 3.C.4). Thus, people with two sons, two daughters and one son and one daughter were equally likely to be sterilized. In South Jiangsu, patterns of contraceptive use by sex of children indicates some unwillingness of respondents (particularly those with two daughters) to be sterilized.

Table 3 .C.3
Contraceptive Use, For Selected Number of Children and Their Sex Composition, According to Women and
Men in Two Counties in South Jiangsu Province, China: 1996
(In percent)

Number/sex of children already born	County A					County B					Subtotal				
	Never used	IUD	Steril- ization	Other ¹	No. of cases	Never used	IUD	Steril- ization	Other ¹	No. of cases	Never used	IUD	Steril- ization	Other ¹	No. of cases
Women															
None	100.0	--	--	--	(14)	70.0	--	--	30.0	(10)	87.5	--	--	12.5	(24)
One son	0.3	95.0	0.3	3.3	(354)	1.8	87.6	2.5	8.1	(282)	0.9	91.7	1.9	5.5	(641)
One daughter	1.0	95.5	0.3	3.3	(314)	1.5	88.1	2.0	8.5	(201)	1.2	92.6	1.0	5.3	(515)
One son and one daughter	--	32.4	64.7	2.9	(34)	4.0	61.1	30.0	4.8	(126)	3.1	55.0	37.5	4.3	(160)
Two sons	--	28.6	71.4	--	(14)	4.1	44.9	47.0	4.1	(49)	3.2	41.3	52.4	3.2	(63)
Two daughters	--	30.0	71.4	--	(10)	4.2	70.8	20.8	4.2	(48)	3.4	63.8	25.8	5.8	(58)
Three or more children	--	--	100.0	--	(4)	2.9	37.1	60.0	--	(35)	2.6	33.3	64.1	--	(39)
Men															
None	100.0	--	--	--	(2)	100.0	--	--	--	(6)	100.0	--	--	--	(8)
One son	--	97.4	1.8	0.9	(114)	1.4	93.2	1.4	4.1	(74)	0.5	95.7	1.6	2.2	(188)
One daughter	--	92.2	--	7.8	(90)	1.2	92.8	1.2	4.8	(83)	0.6	92.5	0.6	6.4	(173)
One son and one daughter	--	36.4	63.6	--	(22)	--	65.8	31.6	2.6	(38)	--	55.0	43.4	1.7	(60)
Two sons	--	16.7	83.8	--	(12)	--	61.0	33.3	5.6	(18)	--	43.3	53.3	3.3	(30)
Two daughters	--	50.0	50.0	--	(4)	--	62.5	25.0	12.5	(16)	--	60.0	30.0	10.0	(20)
Three or more children	--	16.7	83.3	--	(6)	6.7	26.7	66.7	--	(15)	4.8	23.8	71.4	--	(21)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

¹Other includes pill, NORPLANT, condom and rhythm.

Table 3 .C.4
Contraceptive Use, For Selected Number of Children and Their Sex Composition, According to Women and Men
in Two Counties in North Anhui Province, China: 1996
(In percent)

Number/sex of children already born	County C					County D					Subtotal				
	Never used	IUD	Steril- ization	Other ¹	No. of cases	Never used	IUD	Steril- izatio n	Other ¹	No. of cases	Never used	IUD	Steril- ization	Other ¹	No. of cases
Women															
None	96.8	--	--	3.2	(31)	93.5	2.2	--	4.4	(46)	94.8	1.3	--	3.9	(77)
One son	5.2	91.0	3.2	0.6	(155)	2.3	93.8	3.9	--	(129)	3.9	92.3	3.5	0.4	(284)
One daughter	5.5	93.6	0.9	--	(109)	8.4	90.7	0.9	--	(107)	6.9	92.1	1.0	--	(216)
One son and one daughter	1.1	4.3	94.7	--	(188)	0.5	1.6	96.9	1.0	(191)	0.8	2.9	95.8	0.6	(379)
Two sons	1.2	5.9	91.7	1.2	(85)	1.5	--	98.5	--	(67)	1.3	3.3	94.8	--	(152)
Two daughters	2.9	2.9	94.1	--	(34)	--	--	100.0	--	(11)	2.2	2.2	95.6	--	(45)
Three or more children	0.7	4.8	94.4	--	(145)	--	5.6	94.5	--	(198)	0.3	5.2	94.4	--	(343)
Men															
None	100.0	--	--	--	(12)	100.0	--	--	--	(7)	100.0	--	--	--	(19)
One son	10.6	89.4	--	--	(47)	3.2	92.1	4.8	--	(63)	6.4	90.9	2.7	--	(110)
One daughter	2.7	91.9	--	5.4	(37)	--	100.0	--	--	(32)	1.4	95.7	--	2.8	(69)
One son and one daughter	3.3	1.6	94.0	--	(61)	--	100.0	--	--	(55)	1.7	0.9	97.4	--	(116)
Two sons	--	4.0	96.0	--	(25)	--	100.0	--	--	(31)	--	1.8	98.2	--	(56)
Two daughters	--	--	100.0	--	(13)	--	100.0	--	--	(4)	--	--	100.0	--	(17)
Three or more children	--	--	100.0	--	(59)	--	100.0	--	--	(60)	--	--	100.0	--	(119)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

¹Other includes pill, NORPLANT, condom and rhythm.

3. Willingness to Accept and Satisfaction with Current Method

Women in both provinces generally said they accepted their current method of contraception willingly and were satisfied with the method. More than 95 percent of the women in South Jiangsu said they were willing to accept their current method of contraception, compared to 83 to 89 percent of women in North Anhui (not shown in a table). Approximately half of the women in North Anhui were afraid of side effects when they accepted their current method (48 percent in County C and 55 percent in County D), while only 6 percent of the women in County A and 31 percent in County B in South Jiangsu said they worried about side effects with their current method (not shown in a table). Women in both provinces were satisfied with their current method of contraception (around 96 percent of the women in South Jiangsu were very or somewhat satisfied, compared to 88 percent in North Anhui) (not shown in a table). It should be noted that eliciting dissatisfaction from clients about contraceptive methods and services was extremely difficult, particularly in a country with a program as stringent as China's. It is possible that women are less satisfied with their method of contraception than they report.

4. Experience with Side Effects

When asked specifically about side effects, women and men in North Anhui were more forthcoming than respondents in South Jiangsu. Women and men in South Jiangsu were asked about their most pronounced side effect, while respondents in North Anhui were asked about each side effect separately. Among women in South Jiangsu, 86 percent said they had experienced no problems associated with contraceptive use (Table 3.C.5). The largest percentage of women mentioning a specific side effect were 4 percent who said they had experienced heavy bleeding or amenorrhea. In contrast, women in North Anhui were much more likely to say they had experienced side effects, most notably abdominal pain, back or chest pain, dizziness/blurred vision/headaches, and heavy bleeding/amenorrhea. Women in County D in North Anhui were more likely to say they had experienced the various side effects than were women in County C. It is not clear from the data the reasons for such disparities in experience. There may also be a reluctance to report side effects, if they think it implies they are dissatisfied with the method.

Data on experience with side effects from male sterilization are reported only for North Anhui since so few men in South Jiangsu had been sterilized (Table 3.C.6). Among the men in North Anhui who had been sterilized, nearly half (47 percent) said they experienced backache/lumbago, while 36 percent complained of general pain and 28 percent of a decrease in their sex drive. With the exception of unstable moods, noted by about 10 percent of the men who had been sterilized in North Anhui, larger percentages of men in County D indicated they had experienced side effects that they associated with male sterilization. As with the women, it is not clear why experience of side effects differed so much between counties C and D.

Table 3.C.5.
Side Effects Experienced¹ with Contraceptive Methods, According to Women in Four Counties in
South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Side effect	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
No problem	96.0	75.8	85.9	NA	NA	NA
Irregular bleeding	0.7	2.2	1.4	5.9	5.1	5.5
Heavy bleeding/amenorrhea	1.0	7.7	4.3	8.3	11.7	10.0
Intermenstrual pain	--	--	--	6.7	9.5	8.1
Abdominal pain	0.8	4.4	2.6	16.5	27.9	22.2
Excessive discharge	0.4	1.9	1.2	3.7	7.9	5.8
Back/chest pain	0.1	2.6	1.4	11.7	23.4	17.6
Dizziness/blurred	--	2.6	1.3	8.5	20.7	14.5
Weight gain ²	0.3	0.1	0.2	6.0	11.1	8.6
Weight loss	NA	NA	NA	7.2	10.5	8.8
Other	0.7	1.2	--	1.0	1.9	1.4
Don't know/NA	--	1.4	0.7	NA	NA	NA
Number of cases	(731)	(726)	(1,457)	(698)	(692)	(1,390)

¹These questions on side effects were asked differently in Jiangsu and Anhui provinces. In South Jiangsu, women were asked about their most pronounced side effect, while in North Anhui, women were asked about each side effect separately.

²For Jiangsu, weight gain and loss are grouped together.

Table 3.C.6.
Side Effects Experienced¹ with Male Sterilization, According to Men in Two Counties in
North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Side effect	North Anhui		
	County C	County D	Subtotal
No problem	NA	NA	NA
Pain	36.0	37.5	36.7
Decrease in sex drive	23.4	33.3	28.0
Backache/lumbago	36.9	58.3	46.9
Fatigue (whole body)	17.1	24.0	20.3
Unstable moods	9.9	9.4	9.7
Other	0.9	--	0.5
Number of cases	(111)	(96)	(207)

¹Each side effect was asked about separately.

5. Method Switching and Choice of Methods

Women and men were asked if they or their partners had ever used a contraceptive method different from their current method (not shown in a table). In South Jiangsu, 15 percent of the women and 9 percent of the men said they have used another method. Most of the respondents who have used another method lived in County B, where couples are more likely than in County A to have a second child. It is likely that the method those respondents used previously was the IUD. In North Anhui, around 29 percent of the respondents have used another method, again, most likely the IUD.

In South Jiangsu, contraceptive failure was the most common reason given for stopping use of a past method, cited by 46 percent of the women and 35 percent of the men (Table 3.C.7). In North Anhui, however, the reasons for stopping use of a previous method indicated intervention by family planning workers (54 percent of the women and 57 percent of the men said the family planning cadre had made them switch methods in the past). In contrast, in South Jiangsu, 10 percent of the women and 30 percent of the men said the family planning cadre had made them change methods. It is interesting to note that North Anhui has become more serious about enforcing the family planning policy on use of specific methods related to parity. As shown in Table 3.C.4, more than 90 percent of respondents (or their partners) who had two children were sterilized, in contrast to South Jiangsu, where respondents with two children were more likely to still be using an IUD. With the exception of women in South Jiangsu, about one-quarter of the respondents who had switched said they did so because they wanted a longer lasting method. In contrast, 42 percent of men in South Jiangsu who switched (or whose partner switched) said they did so for a longer lasting method). Side effects were mentioned by about 20 percent of the women and men in South Jiangsu who had switched methods, but only by about 4 percent of the respondents in North Anhui as their reason for switching. In some cases, respondents gave more than one reason for switching methods.

To assess women's and men's ability to choose the contraceptive method they use, respondents were asked about other methods they would find more suitable to use (not shown in a table). Nearly all (97 percent) of the men and women in South Jiangsu said there was no other method more suitable for their use. In North Anhui, 78 percent of the women and 80 percent of the men said their current method was the best. Among the others in North Anhui, 6 percent of the women thought the IUD would be better for them, and no other method was mentioned by more than 2.5 percent of the women. Among the men, nearly 5 percent thought female sterilization would be more appropriate for them and 4 percent thought the IUD would be better. It is possible that women and men did not know that methods other than the IUD and sterilization were really available.

Table 3.C.7.
Reasons for Stopping Past Methods, According to Women and Men, in Four Counties in South
Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Reasons ¹	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Side effects	20.2	18.0	19.0	7.8	2.3	4.3
Inconvenient/messy	4.6	3.1	3.8	2.0	1.5	1.7
Contraceptive failure	46.8	45.3	46.0	22.9	13.3	16.8
Menopause	--	--	--	--	1.9	1.2
Want longer method	31.2	19.5	24.9	23.5	31.9	28.8
FP cadres made us	7.3	11.7	9.7	50.3	56.7	54.3
Husband disliked	1.8	0.8	1.3	2.6	0.8	1.4
Other	21.1	16.4	18.6	10.5	33.1	24.8
Don't know/NA	--	3.9	2.1	1.3	1.1	1.2
Number of cases	(109)	(128)	(237)	(53)	(263)	(416)
According to men						
Side effects	11.1	23.5	20.9	8.1	--	3.9
Inconvenient/messy	--	--	--	1.4	2.5	1.9
Contraceptive failure	22.2	38.2	34.9	29.7	8.8	18.8
Menopause	--	--	--	--	--	--
Want longer method	66.7	35.3	41.9	13.5	36.3	25.3
FP cadres made us	44.4	26.5	30.2	50.0	63.8	57.1
I (husband) disliked	--	2.9	2.3	5.4	2.5	3.9
Other	11.1	2.9	4.7	16.2	31.3	24.0
Don't know/NA	--	2.9	2.3	4.1	--	1.9
Number of cases	(9)	(34)	(43)	(74)	(80)	(154)

¹Respondents could give up to two responses so totals do not sum to 100 percent.

The main reason noted by women and men for not using the method they deemed more suitable for themselves or their partners was the policy restriction on the method, cited by more than 70 percent of both the women and men in North Anhui compared to about one-quarter of the respondents in South Jiangsu (Table 3.C.8).

Table 3.C.8.
Reasons for Not Using Desired Contraceptive Method, According to Women and Men, in Four
Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Reasons ¹	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Method not available	--	8.7	6.7	5.4	7.3	6.1
Policy restriction	14.3	26.1	23.3	70.9	75.6	72.6
Health problems	57.1	17.4	26.7	3.4	3.7	3.5
Husband or family opposes	14.3	13.0	13.3	8.8	1.2	6.1
Other	14.3	--	3.3	1.4	1.2	7.0
Don't know/NA	--	34.8	26.7	10.1	1.2	7.0
Number of cases	(7)	(23)	(30)	(148)	(82)	(230)
According to men						
Method not available	--	33.3	25.0	7.9	8.6	8.2
Policy restriction	--	33.3	25.0	68.4	74.3	71.2
Health problems	100.0	--	25.0	5.3	2.9	4.1
I (husband) or family oppose	--	--	--	5.3	5.7	5.5
Other	--	33.3	25.0	2.6	8.6	5.5
Don't know/NA	--	--	--	10.5	--	5.5
Number of cases	(1)	(3)	(4)	(38)	(35)	(73)

6. Pregnancies from Contraceptive Failure

China long relied on the steel ring IUD, with a failure rate of about 12.6 percent in the first year of use³ (Gao et al., 1986). Contraceptive failure and subsequent abortions were commonly reported in the study. Pregnancy resulting from contraceptive failure was more common in South Jiangsu (29 percent of women)⁴ than in North Anhui (where 9 percent of women reported a pregnancy from contraceptive failure). These differences are not surprisingly since 80 percent of respondents in South Jiangsu used the IUD and since South Jiangsu enforces the one-child policy while North Anhui more readily allows second births. It is interesting to note that women and men in counties B and D gave remarkably similar responses regarding pregnancies resulting from contraceptive failure, while women and men in counties A and C gave very different responses (Table 3.C.9).

³It should also be noted that the steel ring IUD, with no strings, was difficult for women to remove by themselves.

⁴This failure rate is considerably higher than the known failure rate for the ring IUD. It is possible that some of these failures may have been self-induced (see Greenhalgh, 1992).

Table 3.C.9.
Pregnancies Resulting From Contraceptive Failure, According to Women and Men in Four
Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996 (In percent)

Pregnancies due to contraceptive failure	South Jiangsu			North Anhui ¹		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
None	80.1	61.8	70.9	91.0	90.8	90.9
One	14.3	24.6	19.5	7.9	8.8	8.3
Two or more	3.7	12.6	8.2	1.1	0.4	0.8
Never used FP	1.9	0.9	1.4	NA	NA	NA
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(698)	(692)	(1,390)
According to men						
None	95.2	63.6	79.4	82.1	90.9	86.6
One	2.4	24.4	13.4	14.5	8.2	11.3
Two or more	1.2	5.6	3.4	2.1	0.4	1.2
Don't know	--	--	--	1.3	0.4	0.8
Never used FP	0.8	3.2	2.0	NA	NA	NA
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(234)	(243)	(477)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

¹The data for North Anhui were calculated for women who had ever used family planning.

7. Abortion

Women and men in South Jiangsu were more likely to say they had experienced an abortion than were women and men in North Anhui (more than one-quarter in South Jiangsu compared with fewer than 10 percent in North Anhui) (Table 3.C.10). Data on abortions, however, generally tend to underestimate actual abortion rates. The data on abortions for North Anhui appear particularly low.

Most abortions were due to pregnancies being out-of-plan (Table 3.C.11). With the exception of women in North Anhui, around three-quarters of the respondents said they had themselves chosen to have their last abortion because their pregnancy was out-of-plan (58 percent of women in North Anhui gave that response). Nearly one-third of the women and one-fifth of the men from North Anhui said they or their spouses had their last abortion because the family planning cadre had made them have the abortion. In contrast, fewer than one in 10 women and men in South Jiangsu said they had been compelled by the family planning worker to have their (or their wife's) last abortion. Respondents were not asked about the level of pressure the family planning workers exerted to compel them to abort their pregnancies.

Table 3.C.10.
Experience with Abortion, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and
North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Abortion	South Jiangsu			North Anhui ¹		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
None	80.1	43.3	61.7	92.7	94.2	93.5
One	14.4	37.5	26.0	6.3	5.6	6.0
Two or more	3.6	18.2	10.9	0.9	--	0.6
Never used FP	1.9	0.9	1.4	NA	NA	NA
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(698)	(692)	(1,390)
According to men						
None	95.2	55.6	75.4	91.5	91.8	91.0
One	2.4	31.6	17.0	7.7	7.8	7.8
Two or more	1.2	9.2	5.2	0.9	0.4	0.6
Do not know	0.4	0.4	0.4	--	--	--
Never used FP	0.8	3.2	2.0	NA	NA	NA
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(234)	(243)	(477)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

¹The data for North Anhui were calculated for women who had ever used family planning.

Few women in South Jiangsu said they had experienced any problems associated with abortion (none in County A and 6 percent in County B) (not shown in a table). However, in North Anhui, 10 percent of women in County C and 20 percent in County D who had an abortion said they had experienced a problem related to the abortion. Women were not asked to specify the type of problem they experienced.

Table 3.C.11.
Reason for Last Abortion, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and
North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Reasons for last abortion	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Out-of-plan, own choice	94.8	74.9	79.8	56.0	62.5	58.9
Out-of-plan, worker made me	--	9.8	7.4	30.0	32.5	31.1
Planned, bad timing	0.7	2.9	2.3	2.0	--	1.1
Planned, health problems for mother or fetus	0.7	1.0	0.9	2.0	5.0	3.3
Sex of fetus	--	--	--	2.0	--	1.1
Planned, but unwanted	2.2	6.2	5.2	2.0	--	1.1
Other	1.5	5.3	4.3	6.0	--	3.3
Number of cases	(135)	(419)	(554)	(50)	(40)	(90)
According to men						
Out-of-plan, own choice	77.8	76.5	76.6	80.0	70.0	75.0
Out-of-plan, worker made me	--	9.8	9.0	20.0	20.0	20.0
Planned, bad timing	11.1	6.9	7.2	--	--	--
Planned, health problems for mother or fetus	--	--	--	--	--	--
Sex of fetus	--	--	--	--	--	--
Planned, but unwanted	--	3.9	3.6	--	--	--
Other	11.1	2.9	3.6	--	5.0	2.0
Number of cases	(9)	(102)	(111)	(20)	(20)	(40)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

8. Family Planning Use, Contraceptive Failure and Abortion: Views from the FGD

In the focus group discussions, women of all ages talked about their views on family planning and different contraceptive methods. Women and men also recounted their experiences with IUD failures and the resulting abortions they or their wives had as a result. Older women talked about their experiences in gaining access to family planning or the number of children they would have had if they had been able to use family planning. Some younger women talked about problems with contraceptive methods.

A 60-year-old woman from North Anhui who had five children told her story:

“After I was married for six years, I still didn’t have any children. I felt a lot of pressure. My mother-in-law complained, ‘You can do heavy work, but the only problem is you have no child.’ I went to see a doctor. After that I had girl. I felt a bit better. Then I had another four boys. My husband was sick and couldn’t work in the fields. My family relied on me working in a company. Now young people are so happy -- they have family planning. At that time we didn’t want to make more children, but we had no family planning methods.” (owab2-3).

A 55-year-old woman from North Anhui said:

“I had four children before family planning started. Then I used family planning.”

A 56-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with two sons and one daughter talked about having to go outside her village to seek family planning.

“Because family planning was not available in the village, I had to go to Wuxi to have an IUD inserted after my third child. My mother-in-law was against it, but I said yes to family planning. My mother-in-law only had one child since her husband died early, so she wanted me to have one more.” (owjx1-1)

Another 55-year-old South Jiangsu woman with two sons said:

“After I had my two children, my husband was working outside, so I had to take care of both of them myself. The village asked me to have a sterilization. I wasn’t on the list of those who should be sterilized, but I volunteered. I did it without my husband’s agreement in the beginning. He wanted a daughter. My health was much better after the sterilization.” (owjx1-7)

A 56-year-old South Jiangsu woman with two sons and one daughter said she would have used family planning even without her husband’s permission.

“I had three children and then went by myself to the county station for a sterilization. Even if my husband had opposed, I would have had it because I had no one to help me with the children. I just want one grandchild. I suffered enough. More grandchildren isn’t good.” (owjx1-4)

Another 55-year-old North Anhui woman mentioned:

“I stopped childbearing at 35. I was the first to use an IUD. Without family planning I wouldn’t have only had three children.”

A 55-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has three children said that contraceptive use was not always safe.

“I had an IUD 42 days after the last birth and got an infection for which I had to spend money. The township women’s head helped me.” (owjx2-5)

One 40-year-old man from South Jiangsu spoke about his wife’s experience with contraceptive failure:

“My wife got pregnant twice with the IUD and had abortions both times. Then she tried pills and they failed again. Almost every 4 to 5 years she had to have an abortion and then she had to work right away. It was very tiring. This isn’t the way to solve the problem, but she wanted, even insisted, that she go for the sterilization rather than me. But I said ‘let’s think about it.’ We went to the hospital for consultation. After 2 to 3 years, we thought we would get sterilized, but our parents did not agree. But my wife had a tumor so she had both operations at once. I felt very sorry about that.” (rmjw1-9)

Now women who have one child generally have an IUD inserted within the first six months postpartum. Women prefer to use the IUD as long as they can. Many are worried about getting sterilized for fear that something will happen to their child or children. Even with the IUD, however, women worry about safety and efficacy. According to a 37-year-old mother of one daughter from South Jiangsu:

“I had an IUD five months after my baby was born because condoms are not safe [effective]. In villages, women have the IUD as long as possible. I was nervous when I got the IUD inserted -- I worried it would be as painful as childbirth. But it wasn’t painful. Now I’m not nervous.” (rwjx2-6)

A 28-year-old South Jiangsu woman with one son said:

“I had a C-section. After the baby was taken out, they put in an IUD immediately. Last month I had a contraceptive failure. I took medicine and had an abortion. Only one year after the insertion I had the failure. Now I haven’t had the IUD again.” (rwjx1-3)

It seems to be generally known that steel ring IUD failures are common. Said a 35-year-old woman from Jiangsu who has one son:

“Some get pregnant after the IUD and some do not do well with the IUD. For example, there was a girl who worked with me who frequently got pregnant with the IUD. She switched to the Copper-T and never got pregnant again.” (rwjw1-8)

A 37-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who also has one son agreed.

“For several years I had the ring IUD. I got pregnant and had an abortion and then had the IUD inserted again, but I don’t know what type of IUD it is.”
(rwjw1-4)

A 38-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one daughter also mentioned the fear of contraceptive failure.

“Most women have the IUD within three months of giving birth. I would hate to get pregnant after the IUD was inserted.” (fejw2-5)

A 34-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one daughter mentioned:

“I got the IUD voluntarily. Sterilization is not safe in case something happens to the only child. Sterilization is also harmful to the health. Ten years after the IUD insertion I can feel some effect. IUDs are getting less popular. IUDs are not trustworthy. The failure rate is too high -- even doctors can’t say why. Pills and condoms are bothersome. NORPLANT is just beginning.” (rwjx2-5)

A 25-year-old woman from North Anhui with one child said:

“My health isn’t good. I’ve had a pregnancy. Even using a method isn’t 100 percent successful. I went three months without a period. I went to the hospital to see if I was pregnant or not. I was scared. The IUD is better, but it has side effects.” (rwab1-13)

A 25-year-old woman from North Anhui who does not yet have children said that people worry about sterilization in case something is wrong with their child.

“Sometimes when the baby is born it is as normal as others, but maybe 3 to 4 years later, the problem shows up because the child can’t walk or talk. If a couple is sterilized but they are both healthy, how can they deal with this?”
(rwab1-12)

She added that the fear of contraceptive failure affects people’s sex lives.

“Even when women use family planning, they worry about the efficacy of the method. They worry about their sex life.” (rwab1-12).

9. Summary of Section C

- C** ***Contraceptive Use.*** More than 90 percent of survey participants used family planning, generally following the guidelines of the family planning policy. Decisions were based on fertility rather than on personal choice. Respondents with one child used IUDs, and those with two children were sterilized, particularly in North Anhui where the government has strengthened enforcement of the policy during the past decade. In South Jiangsu, 15 percent of the women and 9 percent of the men had used a method other than their current contraceptive method. In North Anhui, around 29 percent of the respondents had used another method. Method switching generally occurred when parity changed, and mostly at the urging of family planning workers.
- C** ***Willingness to Accept Current Method.*** Most (over 95 percent of the women in South Jiangsu and over 80 of women in North Anhui) women said they were willing to accept their current method of contraception, and most women expressed satisfaction with the method. It is possible that the respondents expressed satisfaction with their current method because they did not think they had any choice about the method they were using. The main reason noted by women and men for not using a method they deemed more suitable for themselves or their partners was the policy restriction on the method, cited by more than 70 percent of both the women and the men.
- C** ***Contraceptive failure and abortion.*** Women and men in South Jiangsu were more likely to say they or their wives had an abortion than were women and men in North Anhui (over one-quarter compared with fewer than 10 percent). Most abortions were due to out-of-plan pregnancies. With the exception of women in North Anhui, approximately three-quarters of the respondents reported they, themselves, had chosen to have their last abortion because their pregnancy was out-of-plan (58 percent of women in North Anhui gave that response). Nearly one-third of the women and one-fifth of the men from North Anhui (compared with one in 10 women and men in South Jiangsu) said they or their wife had their last abortion because the family planning cadre had made them.

In the FGD, women noted that they worried about contraceptive failure (sometimes repeated failures) with the ring IUD; one young women said that such worry can affect a couple's sex life. The problem of IUD failure should be ameliorated in China with the switch to copper-bearing IUDs. One estimate suggests that reducing failures by 20 percent would translate into 1.46 million fewer unwanted pregnancies in one year in China (Jiang, 1997).

D. Experience with Family Planning and Reproductive Health Services

1. The Context for Women's Reproductive Health

In the FGD, women of all ages remarked on the improvements that have been made in women's and children's health. Women particularly noted the differences in childbearing. Older women did not equate childbearing with the need for medical care. Childbearing was done at home, at most, with a midwife present. In many cases, rural families could not afford a midwife or even proper nutrition for mothers. Currently, more young women (more in South Jiangsu than North Anhui) deliver their babies in the hospital, and they have better access to pre- and postnatal care, and to nutrition counseling.⁵ Perhaps because they have only one child or because they are used to higher standards of health care, younger women want to ensure easier delivery. Ensuring "better births" is part of the Chinese government's eugenics program.

Having too many children was considered by one 56-year-old South Jiangsu woman with two daughters to affect all members of the family.

"My parents had eight children. I'm the second. My father died when I was 20 - there was no money for the doctor. Some siblings were given to other families. Having too many children -- not only do the parents suffer, but also the children, with bad nutrition and bad housing conditions." (omjx1-4)

Many births were seen to influence children's health. One 60-year-old woman from North Anhui talked about having six births. Five children survived, but the first died of an infection.

"At home, we had nothing to eat. It is hard to talk about and sad to recall." (owat1-8).

A 62-year-old man from North Anhui who had six children also recounted the plight of poor families.

"In the past, of 10 children, only several survived. Many died of hunger and sickness. I remember seeing a lot of dead bodies on a hillside [perhaps a reference to the Great Leap Forward in the late 1950s]." (omat2-8)

⁵However, in many parts of rural China, women do not use prenatal and postnatal care, nor do they deliver their babies in hospitals (Go and Du, 1995; Li, 1995; Kaufman, Zhang and Fang, 1997).

Another 55-year-old woman from North Anhui with four children said:

“When my children were small, the second daughter had to care for the third. The second daughter died of heat working in the cotton field.” (owat1-2/4).

Another 56-year-old woman with three children from South Jiangsu recalled her mother’s experience in childbirth.

“My mother died before I was five. She died in the delivery of her third child of a hemorrhage. The baby was alive, but was buried with my mother. Not even the midwife came because my family had no money.” (owjx1-4)

A 60-year-old woman from North Anhui who had five children described childbearing practices in her village.

“We gave birth in the home not in the hospital [which didn’t have a delivery service]. We didn’t have money to get a midwife and even if you wanted someone to come, you had to at least cook a dish for them. I didn’t even have money to make a dish to drink [the dish would have been mostly soup]. To cut the cord, we used a type of plant stem to make a knife to cut. We peeled it with our teeth and then cut the cord.” (owat1-3/4)

One 57-year-old women with three sons discussed childbirth among older women in South Jiangsu:

“In the past when she had a baby, a mother would stay in the room for one month. My mom was a sent-down worker [an educated youth sent from the city to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution in the mid- 1960s to the mid-1970s]. She was in the field 30 days after birth and suffered a prolapsed uterus. She had traditional medicine. So I’d have agreed to have one child, but in my time it was like that [people had more children]. Production team leaders didn’t know how to care for women. Health care services are better. Even male cadres know.” (owjw1-2)

Another 55-year-old South Jiangsu woman with two sons also mentioned problems with reproductive health among older (and younger) women.

“In my day, several cases of prolapsed uterus occurred, but the women didn’t want to admit it. Also, hemorrhage in childbirth. Nowadays women have urinary tract infections but they are shy to admit it.” (owjx2-3)

A 34-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with one daughter noted that some older women think younger women have an easy time of childbearing.

“My mother-in-law said she had her baby by sitting there. I went to the city [Maternal and Child Health] MCH hospital. My mother-in-law said, ‘Why are you so serious about childbearing? All I needed was a bench.’” (rwjx2-4)

A 55-year-old woman with three children from North Anhui had the same perspective.

“Most young women go to the service station or the hospital which is very clean. They have monthly [pre-natal visits] to check the position of the fetus. In the past, we didn’t check. Even if the baby was dead inside, we didn’t know. The doctor checks you several times and gives injections.

She added that the nutrition of new mothers has improved.

“Now daughters-in-law and daughters eat hundreds and hundreds of eggs. At that time, I didn’t even see eggs.” (owat1-15).

A 37-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one daughter noted the difference between her childbearing experience and that of her mother-in-law.

“When I had a baby I had three months rest. When my mother-in-law had a baby she only got some porridge, then some grass -- she didn’t have any choice of nutrition. When I had my baby I had meat, fish, shrimp, eggs, every day was different. I was in bed for one month. My mother-in-law had her babies at home with a midwife. I was in the county hospital for one week.” (rwjx2-4)

Young women who work in the formal sector have more time off after the birth of their child or children than did older women. According to a 28-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one son:

“I didn’t work for four months after the birth of my baby -- we have leave with pay.” (rwjx1-3)

A 34-year-old South Jiangsu woman with one daughter said that reproductive health among younger women is better.

“Now our lives are improved. We have fewer gynecological diseases. We have better health education material to watch on TV.” (rwjx2-6)

2. Source of Knowledge about Family Planning

The family planning program is pervasive in people's lives in China. On registration for marriage, couples must undergo family planning counseling. After the birth of their first child, couples are expected to use family planning. As indicated in Section B, people are aware of the fertility policy. In the FGD, a young, unmarried 24-year-old man from North Anhui said:

"You have to submit a report before marriage and after marriage and have to go to the township to apply for a pregnancy certificate. Once you have notification, four months later you have to go to get the certificate for birth. After you get the birth certificate, you can have a baby. If you have a rural hu kuo [residence permit], if the first is a daughter, after several years you can have another, but I can't remember the spacing time." (ymat2-11).

According to the survey results, for both men and women in South Jiangsu and North Anhui, family planning workers and community leaders were the main source of information about family planning (Table 3.D.1). Approximately 12 percent of the women and men in North Anhui (compared with around 2 percent of the respondents in South Jiangsu) had not heard about family planning from any of the sources listed.

Table 3.D.1.
Source of Knowledge about Family Planning, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996 (In percent)

Source knowledge about FP ¹	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Family planning workers	100.0	96.3	98.1	86.5	89.6	88.0
Friends/family	87.2	53.8	70.5	60.4	60.6	60.5
Community leaders	99.3	82.7	91.0	81.5	90.5	86.0
Mass media	98.8	71.6	85.2	66.4	64.4	65.4
Publicity materials	96.4	80.0	88.2	56.8	64.9	60.8
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
According to men						
Family planning workers	100.0	94.8	97.4	85.4	89.7	87.5
Friends/family	91.6	55.2	73.4	50.8	63.1	56.9
Community leaders	99.6	81.2	90.4	78.3	93.3	85.8
Mass media	100.0	68.8	84.4	69.7	75.0	72.3
Publicity materials	100.0	77.2	88.6	60.6	74.6	67.6
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

¹Respondents were asked about each source of information separately, so totals do not sum to 100 percent.

3. Source of Family Planning and Other Reproductive Health Services for Women

Women received family planning and other reproductive health services from different sources in the two provinces. In South Jiangsu, women received family planning and other health services at the township level, either in health clinics or MCH hospitals, a pattern that was established years ago. These services are run by the County Public Health Bureau. In North Anhui, however, where primary health care services have always been weaker than in South Jiangsu, money was put into developing the system of family planning service stations at both the township and village levels. Since the 1970s, the Anhui Family Planning Commission required each township to have a family planning service station. Some villages have rooms for women's health services. These service stations offer services and education about family planning methods. Township family planning service stations also provide female and male sterilization, IUDs and NORPLANT, while village rooms can deliver pills and condoms. Family planning service stations are run by the State Family Planning Commission (Table 3.D.2).

Table 3.D.2.
Usual Source of Family Planning and Other Services, According to Women in Four Counties in
South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Source of service for women/wives	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
County FP service station	0.4	--	0.2	0.8	0.5	0.7
Township FP service station	11.6	5.3	8.5	94.8	76.4	85.6
Village FP service room	20.0	11.2	15.6	0.3	6.9	3.6
County hospital	0.8	11.5	6.1	--	1.1	0.5
Town/township clinic	67.2	71.5	69.3	2.3	6.4	4.3
Other	--	0.5	0.3	1.9	8.7	5.3
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

For abortion, most women in South Jiangsu said they received services at town or township clinics (77 percent) or at the county hospital (20 percent). Women in North Anhui received abortion services at the township family planning service station (61 percent) or at a town or township clinic (27 percent) (not shown in a table).

4. Types of Family Planning and Reproductive Health Services Used

a. Services at Usual Source of Family Planning and Reproductive Health

In general, women in South Jiangsu used more types of family planning services at their usual service delivery point (SDP) than did women in North Anhui, particularly pregnancy tests; family planning consulting, which includes talks about local family planning policies during home visits, group meetings and through materials given to newlyweds, and MCH services (Table 3.D.3).

Table 3.D.3.
Family Planning and Reproductive Health Services Received by Women and Family Members at Usual Sources of Family Planning and Health Care, According to Women in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Service ¹	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Woman has received:						
Pregnancy test	97.9	89.2	93.5	84.1	75.4	79.7
Sterilization/IUD/or other	68.5	70.6	69.5	81.4	76.9	79.1
FP consulting ²	99.9	78.4	89.1	60.6	67.0	63.8
Supply of FP	18.8	57.8	38.3	42.8	47.3	45.1
MCH services	98.8	91.1	94.9	51.3	57.9	54.6
STD treatment or prevention ³	0.3	2.9	1.6	11.2	13.0	12.1
Mother, child or other family						
Gynecological tests	100.0	95.6	97.8	84.3	86.5	85.4
Blood test	95.5	78.6	87.0	37.9	39.5	38.7
Prenatal care	98.8	90.0	94.4	68.8	60.9	64.8
Post partum care	97.9	81.0	89.4	43.8	44.9	44.3
Nutrition counseling	98.8	72.8	85.8	36.8	37.2	37.0
Child health care	98.0	96.7	97.3	67.7	77.8	72.8
Infertility counseling	0.8	4.1	2.5	12.0	15.1	13.6
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)

¹Multiple responses were possible.

²Family planning consulting includes talking about local policies on family size and related contraceptive options during home visits, group meetings, and through the provision of materials (for example, to newlyweds).

³It was not clear that respondents understood the term STD (translated from the Chinese as “sickness having to do with sex.”) Some respondents may have equated this with infertility, thus the similarities in the responses for “STD treatment or prevention” and “infertility counseling or treatment.”

More women in North Anhui than South Jiangsu reported receiving some type of family planning operation (mainly sterilization or IUD insertion), STD treatment or prevention services and infertility counseling or treatment from their usual SDP. Given the similarities between the responses for STD and infertility services, it is possible that respondents did not distinguish between the two conditions. It is also remarkable that for all types of services, the responses of women for themselves and men for their wives were very similar (Table 3.D.4).

Table 3.D.4.
Family Planning and Reproductive Health Services Received by Wife and Family Members at
Usual Sources of Family Planning and Health Care, According to Men in Four Counties in South
Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Service ¹	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Wife has received:						
Pregnancy test	99.6	91.1	95.4	86.9	81.6	84.3
Sterilization/IUD/or other						
FP consulting ²	100.0	79.8	89.9	64.9	71.4	68.2
Supply of FP	24.1	53.8	39.8	38.4	51.0	44.7
MCH services	99.2	93.9	96.6	54.3	64.5	59.4
STD treatment or prevention ³	0.4	2.4	1.4	7.8	12.7	10.2
Mother, child or other family						
Gynecological tests	100.0	93.2	96.6	89.8	86.9	88.3
Blood test	94.8	81.2	88.0	41.7	36.9	39.3
Prenatal care	99.6	88.8	94.2	72.4	70.2	71.3
Post partum care	99.6	78.4	89.0	47.6	51.2	49.4
Nutrition counseling	98.4	66.8	82.6	42.9	42.1	42.5
Child health care	99.2	95.6	97.4	72.8	81.7	77.3
Infertility counseling						
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

¹Multiple responses were possible.

²Family planning consulting includes talking about local policies on family size and related contraceptive options during home visits, group meetings, and through the provision of materials (for example, to newlyweds).

³It was not clear that respondents understood the term STD (translated from the Chinese as “sickness having to do with sex.”) Some respondents may have equated this with infertility, thus the similarities in the responses for “STD treatment or prevention” and “infertility counseling or treatment.”

b. Women's Tests

China's family planning program has used various means to ensure contraceptive use and adherence to local childbearing plans. In the name of offering quality care to clients, the family planning program has recently instituted a system of "women's tests," in family planning service delivery sites. These tests, also known as women's checks or IUD checks, are a quarterly requirement for women and include pregnancy tests and ultrasound checks to ensure that IUDs are in place (if appropriate). The purpose of these quarterly tests is also to increase the effectiveness of family planning methods and reduce the abortion rate. In addition, for a small fee, women can receive a gynecological check (e.g., pap smear and pelvic exam). As shown in Tables 3.D.3 and 3.D.4, over 90 percent of women in South Jiangsu and approximately 80 percent of women in North Anhui had received pregnancy tests at their usual service delivery point. More than 95 percent of the women in South Jiangsu and more than 85 percent of the women in North Anhui had received gynecological tests.

During the FGDs, some women said they appreciated the government's effort to provide them with gynecological care. Some treated this test as a time to meet with friends. Women are reminded about the women's tests through loud speakers in their villages and women working outside are expected to send back test results. When the tests first started, some women didn't go and were fined. Now they understand the "importance" of these tests. Some women called the family planning station the home for reproductive-age women.

One 33-year-old woman from North Anhui with one son and one daughter said:

"We see each other often since we have to come for the women's test."

One 39-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with one son said that she participated in the pregnancy checks four times a year.

"If the ring isn't there, they will insert it immediately." (rwjw2-4)

A 35-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who also has one son said:

"I have to go for an IUD check, which costs 2 Yuan, but that's affordable."
(rwjw1-8)

Another 30-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with one son said:

"I had an IUD inserted 40 days after my baby was born. My child is now 10 years old. I don't know what kind of IUD I have. The doctor checks it each year during the gynecological check in the township. Family planning work in our area is good. They send the services to our doorstep."

One family planning worker from North Anhui said that one benefit of the women's checks is that they can uncover gynecological problems.

"I feel family planning is good for married women of reproductive age. The women's tests not only can tell if a woman is pregnant or not, but also whether or not she has gynecological diseases. It is better to find these diseases and even others. I know something about the women's tests. One woman said she was sick. She took a pill every day so she said she wasn't pregnant. She went to the hospital for an ultrasound and they found a tumor. Before, that tumor wouldn't have been detected." (rwab2-5).

When asked if she felt pressure to have the women's check, a 25-year-old woman from North Anhui with no children, said:

"Before the women's test, we got educated publicly by the cadres, so we basically accept it. Especially in rural areas. Gynecological diseases are relatively frequent. During the test they can find them and introduce you to a hospital. We are farmers, we know nothing. We only know pain. We give them 1.2 yuan, which isn't expensive. The pregnancy and IUD tests are free. Everyone tells others and they voluntarily come."

One 30-year-old woman from North Anhui with two daughters said that some women were reluctant to have the checks, until they were "educated" about the need to have a good attitude about them.

"In the past women ate ash, some types of eggs and beat their stomachs for abortion. Now they have scientific techniques. Still, rural women don't have the sense of self-protection. They are shy to go to the exams. Without good attitudes -- women-centered attitudes -- the women won't feel satisfied." (rwat1-6).

Some women had complaints about the women's checks, saying they had to wait too long. Others complained about techniques to test for pregnancy (a bimanual exam). According to a 30-year-old woman from North Anhui with one son:

"The test takes only a half hour, but sometimes we had to wait half a day. Now we have a time schedule, so it is much faster. We use ultrasound machines so it is much faster." (rwat2-4).

A 41-year-old woman from North Anhui with two sons said:

"We still have some women who complain -- some service stations require 100 percent participation -- even among young married women."

A 28-year-old woman from North Anhui related a story about a young bride.

“One young bride was informed about the women’s test the next day. She was very embarrassed that the women’s test starts right after marriage. Her name was on file and was sent to the service station. Some women aren’t even actually married when they have the women’s test. They get out of the [bridal] carriage into the service station for the women’s test.” (rwab2-7).

5. Problems Encountered with Current Service Delivery Point

In the survey, women could think of few problems with their current SDP for family planning and reproductive health services. Larger percentages of women in North Anhui than in South Jiangsu reported problems at their current SDP (17 to 18 percent in North Anhui, compared to less than 1 percent in County A and 9 percent in County B in South Jiangsu) (not shown in a table). The main complaints in North Anhui were that the SDPs have long waiting lines and are crowded. Women in County D also mentioned that the SDPs were far from their homes while women in County C complained about the cost of services, which was also the main complaint from women in County B in South Jiangsu (noted by 8 percent of the women). In North Anhui, no more than six percent of the women mentioned any other problem with their SDP. Asked specifically about the staff, women in South Jiangsu had no complaints, while between 4 to 8 percent of the women in North Anhui said that the staff were unfriendly or did not seem to be well qualified (not shown in a table).

6. Place Women Would Like to Receive MCH Services

Women in the two provinces generally would like to keep receiving MCH services from their current service delivery point (Table 3.D.5). Women in South Jiangsu would like to continue to receive services either at an MCH clinic or a hospital while women in North Anhui would like to receive their MCH services from a family planning clinic. It should be noted, however, that larger percentages of women in both provinces would like to receive MCH services at hospitals than are currently doing so.

7. Men and Family Planning

a. Services for Men

With the exception of some areas such as Sichuan, Shandong and Guizhou provinces where use of male methods (mostly vasectomy) has been relatively high, the family planning program in China has relied on women to use contraception (Liu, 1997). Still, most women and men in South Jiangsu and North Anhui said that services for men exist at local family planning clinics

Table 3.D.5.
Place Women Would Like to Receive Maternal and Child Health (MCH) Services (or Place Where
Husbands Would Like Their Wives to Receive MCH Services), According to Women and Men in
Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Location women (or wives) should receive service	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
FP clinic	15.8	8.7	12.2	51.1	52.5	51.8
MCH clinic	46.6	61.7	54.1	25.7	22.7	24.2
Hospital	37.5	29.6	33.5	22.6	24.0	23.3
Other	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.8	0.7
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
According to men						
FP clinic	4.8	7.2	6.0	45.7	51.2	48.4
MCH clinic	60.4	57.6	59.0	32.7	25.0	28.9
Hospital	34.8	35.2	35.0	21.7	23.4	22.5
Other	--	--	--	--	0.4	0.2
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

(or service stations). As shown in Tables 3.D.6 and 3.D.7, the most common services noted were family planning consulting; education on the fertility and family planning policy, including talks about local policies for family size and contraceptive use and the provision of materials to newlyweds; and condom provision. Vasectomy services were more readily available for men in North Anhui than in South Jiangsu. In the past in Anhui, the family planning program encouraged men to undergo vasectomy since that operation is less complicated than tubectomy for women. For awhile, the program in Anhui advocated the “double guarantee” of both husbands and wives getting sterilized. Currently, the program in North Anhui focuses on female sterilization.

b. Male Responsibility

In the survey, women and men were asked a series of questions to gauge their opinions on the role men should play in family planning. It was not clear, however, if the respondents answered these questions with their opinions on the role men should play or with their interpretation of the current family planning policy. As shown in Table 3.D.8, fewer than 8 percent of the women and men in South Jiangsu said men should have nothing to do with family planning, compared to nearly 20 percent in North Anhui. Both women and men said that men should take care of their wives after a family planning operation (sterilization, IUD or NORPLANT insertion, or abortion). Probably because of Anhui’s past emphasis on male sterilization, women and men in North Anhui

were more likely than those in South Jiangsu to say that men should have vasectomies and that they should use condoms.

Table 3.D.6.
Services for Men at Local Family Planning Clinic, According to Women in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Services for men	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
FP services for men?						
Yes	99.2	69.2	84.2	68.8	76.0	72.4
No	0.4	18.8	9.6	20.7	19.8	20.3
Don't know	0.4	12.0	6.2	10.4	4.3	7.4
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
FP consulting for men¹						
Yes	100.0	86.2	94.3	70.0	83.8	77.3
No	--	8.5	3.5	22.8	5.8	13.9
Don't know	--	5.4	2.2	7.2	10.4	8.9
Condoms for men						
Yes	98.9	96.2	97.8	66.3	78.2	72.6
No	0.9	2.5	1.6	25.9	13.9	19.6
Don't know	0.1	1.3	0.6	7.8	7.9	7.8
Vasectomy						
Yes	0.9	23.3	10.1	91.1	85.2	88.0
No	98.9	71.9	87.8	6.2	11.2	8.9
Don't know	0.1	4.8	2.1	2.7	3.5	3.1
Education for men²						
Yes	100.0	87.9	95.0	80.0	96.3	88.6
No	--	6.3	2.6	13.8	14.5	7.7
Don't know	--	5.8	2.4	6.2	1.6	3.8
Number of cases	(743)	(520)	(1,263)	(514)	(569)	(1,083)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

¹Includes talking about local policies on family size and related contraceptive options during home visits, group meetings, and through the provision of materials, for example, to newlyweds.

²Education on the fertility policy of the area.

Table 3.D.7.
Services for Men at Local Family Planning Clinic, According to Men in Four Counties in South
Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Services for men	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
FP services for men?						
Yes	99.6	66.0	82.8	66.1	76.2	71.1
No	--	16.4	8.2	20.9	19.0	20.0
Don't know	0.4	17.6	9.0	13.0	4.8	8.9
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)
FP consulting for men¹						
Yes	100.0	91.5	96.6	73.2	90.6	82.5
No	--	4.2	1.7	23.2	5.7	13.9
Don't know	--	4.2	1.7	3.6	3.6	3.6
Condoms for men						
Yes	99.6	94.5	97.6	64.3	80.7	73.1
No	0.4	4.2	1.9	88.7	84.4	86.4
Don't know	--	1.2	0.5	82.7	95.8	89.7
Vasectomy						
Yes	1.6	20.0	8.9	72.8	71.0	71.9
No	98.4	73.9	88.6	16.5	25.4	20.9
Don't know	--	6.1	2.4	10.6	3.6	7.1
Education for men² the						
Yes	100.0	86.1	94.4	82.7	95.8	89.7
No	--	10.9	4.3	13.7	3.6	8.3
Don't know	--	3.0	1.2	3.6	0.5	1.9
Number of cases	(249)	(165)	(414)	(168)	(192)	(360)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

¹Includes talking about local policies on family size and related contraceptive options during home visits, group meetings, and through the provision of materials, for example, to newlyweds.

²Education on the fertility policy of the area.

Table 3.D.8.
Male Responsibility in Family Planning, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South
Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Agree with statement ¹	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Husband should accept vasectomy	61.7	6.1	33.9	63.7	57.7	60.7
Husband should use condoms	84.6	16.1	50.3	53.0	51.0	52.0
Husband should take care of wife after FP operation	99.3	97.7	98.5	94.1	94.7	94.4
Husband has nothing to do with FP	1.3	14.5	7.9	19.4	18.8	19.1
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
According to men						
Husband should accept vasectomy	34.4	7.2	20.8	63.8	61.1	62.5
Husband should use condoms	56.4	14.0	35.2	59.8	52.0	55.9
Husband should take care of wife after FP operation	100.0	98.4	99.2	95.7	97.6	96.6
Husband has nothing to do with FP	1.2	14.0	7.6	22.4	18.1	18.8
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

¹This question may not have been clear to respondents, some of whom may have answered according to their interpretation of the family planning policy rather than their own opinion.

c. *Comfort Seeing Men in Clinics or Service Stations*

Unease about men and women receiving services at family planning clinics at the same time did not appear to be a significant barriers to male involvement in contraceptive use. Some 10 percent of women and men in South Jiangsu and some 20 percent of women and men in North Anhui said they would be uncomfortable seeing men at local family planning service delivery points. In China, a bigger barrier to male use of contraception appears to be the defacto emphasis in the program advocating use of female methods, namely female sterilization and the IUD.

Table 3.D.8
Comfort Seeing Men Receiving Services at Local Family Planning Clinic, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Level of comfort	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Not uncomfortable	99.1	69.5	84.3	64.8	70.4	67.6
A little uncomfortable	0.1	18.6	9.4	25.3	20.2	22.7
Don't know/NA	0.8	11.9	6.3	9.9	9.5	9.7
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
According to men						
Not uncomfortable	96.0	66.0	81.0	72.8	71.0	71.9
A little uncomfortable	2.8	21.6	12.2	16.5	25.4	20.9
Don't know/NA	1.2	12.4	6.8	10.6	3.6	7.1
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

d. Male Use of Family Planning: Men's and Women's Views from the FGD

In the FGD, men and women were asked about use of male methods of family planning and male responsibility. Some men, even older men, do use contraception. One 34-year-old woman from South Jiangsu said:

"My mother-in-law had 11 children, including three sons. Her health was bad because she had a lot of children. The years between 18 and 36 were horrible for my mother-in-law; she just had to be touched to become pregnant. Finally, her husband had an operation." (rwjw2-2).

One 54-year-old woman from Anhui had two sons and one daughter. Her last birth was in 1975 after which her husband was sterilized. When asked if someone forced her husband to have the operation she answered:

"No, we were open-minded, educated people. My child's father voluntarily received a sterilization. After the operation, he felt normal." (owat2-4).

A 40-year-old man from South Jiangsu with one son explained why use of male methods was not more common.

“Male sterilization is less popular in rural areas. Males take less responsibility for family planning. They have the primary responsibility for physical labor. Women have less of a work load. Older people will oppose the operation for men. Men’s status and responsibility are for the family. Men are more important and should be protected. Women should use family planning. Men have to run businesses. When there is a big matter to decide, it is for men. Publicity for family planning always targets females. Men have less opportunity to participate. Even premarital training courses are for females. Very few men attend. To tell you the truth, I’d be afraid to have a male sterilization. I am very timid.” (rmjw1-9)

Young men also expressed trepidation about the use of male methods. When asked if he thought male sterilization is bad for men’s health, one 29-year-old South Jiangsu man with one daughter said:

“I think female sterilization is better.” (rmjx2-4)

Another 26-year-old man from South Jiangsu who had one son said that male sterilization is not so popular because:

“The technology is still a problem. Once they have failures they will have a family problem.” (rmjx1-9)

A 32-year-old man from South Jiangsu with one daughter expressed the need for more methods for men.

“I wish we had better methods for males.” (rmjw1-11).

8. Reproductive Health for Young People: Views from the FGD

The Chinese government is concerned about meeting the reproductive health needs -- and controlling the fertility--of young people. In some areas of China -- particularly in large cities -- abortions among unmarried women account for a significant part of the abortions done in hospitals (Yimin et al., 1997). The government is worried about young people engaging in premarital sex and cohabitation and therefore about the gap in coverage for young people between school and marriage.

Said one 44-year-old woman from Jiangsu with one son:

“After graduation until marriage, no one is responsible for youth. Youth leagues should be responsible for them.” (rwjx1-8)

Although unmarried women and men were not included in the survey, those who participated in the FGD were asked about their knowledge of reproductive health. Many noted that they were not encouraged to learn about sex and reproductive health.

When asked if he wanted to know more about sex, one unmarried 25-year-old man from South Jiangsu said:

“Because of the ideology in rural areas, people are shy to ask such questions. They find out about it quietly. Ideology and tradition are strong, so if we speak out, there will be trouble.” (ymjx2-6)

A 24-year-old woman from North Anhui said youth do not seek knowledge about sex and reproductive health from books because:

“Our family will oppose. We need to avoid these topics.”

Another 24-year-old woman from North Anhui said:

“People in rural areas are stupid, they think if girls read these books they will become bad.”

When asked if she had any education about reproductive health, one young woman from North Anhui said:

“Yes, in high school.”

An 18-year-old North Anhui woman noted:

“I have a lot of books. My sister works in family planning. From magazines and books I learn about family planning and MCH.”

Another 18-year-old woman from North Anhui said:

“I got knowledge from my mom about monthly cycles and keeping clean, eating cold fruit and vegetables.”

A 20-year-old woman from North Anhui described what women hear about sex when they are married:

“Usually after marriage your mother and mother-in-law will talk to you about this stuff. They will talk about the disadvantages of early and more childbearing from the point of view of women’s health care. If you have more children you will become a baby-making machine and will get old very quickly.”

There are classes on health for the unmarried, but the young do not learn about reproductive physiology until marriage, according to a 23-year-old young unmarried woman from North Anhui:

“We won’t have that [physiology] until we get married.”

Another 17-year-old girl noted:

“We learned about puberty, but that is not enough.”

A 20-year-old unmarried woman from North Anhui said:

“We have books called Youth Education.”

When asked the most likely time to get pregnant during the menstrual cycle, many young women did not know, although one 20-year-old unmarried woman from North Anhui said:

“Probably during the time before the egg producing period, days 14 to 16 of the cycle.”

When asked if they thought the government should provide education for rural women on reproductive health topics, one young woman from North Anhui said:

“Yes, because women don’t know how to have health care. I think it’s good for them to know and understand biology and physiology -- it is good for their health and future.” (ywat2-16)

Young people had heard of STDs, particularly AIDS, mostly from television, although the information they had was questionable. Said one young man from North Anhui, in order to avoid AIDS:

“You have to keep yourself clean according to health standards and wash yourself often. AIDS is transmitted by blood or saliva.” (ymat2-11)

When asked about AIDS and whether it can be transmitted by kissing, one-25-year old unmarried man from North Anhui said:

“Oh, yes. If you have sex too often you will get it.” (ymab1-2).

9. Summary of Section D

- C** ***The Context of Reproductive Health.*** Older and young women experienced reproductive health differently. Many older women in the FGD characterized their lives as spent in bearing too many children and trying to raise them in poverty. Older women wished they had had access to family planning sooner so that they could have limited their family size. Most women agreed that, in general, the reproductive health of younger women was better than that of older women. There was also a sense that people -- including male cadres -- now had a better understanding of women's health. Recent research in China has highlighted a number of aspects of women's reproductive health (for example, see Tao and Xiao, 1995).
- C** ***Knowledge about Family Planning, Source of Services, and Types of Services Used.*** Family planning workers and community leaders were the main sources of information for men and women in South Jiangsu and North Anhui. In South Jiangsu, women received family planning and other health services at the township level, either in health clinics or MCH hospitals, while in North Anhui, most women got their services from the township family planning station. Typical services at women's usual service delivery point included pregnancy tests, family planning consulting, and MCH services. Other services received by some women included STD treatment or prevention services and infertility counseling or treatment.
- C** ***Women's Tests.*** In order to make contraceptive use more effective and to reduce the abortion rate, the family planning program has instituted a system of mandatory quarterly "women's tests," which include pregnancy tests and ultrasound checks to ensure that IUDs are in place (if appropriate). In addition, for a small fee, women can receive a gynecological check. Women's reactions to these tests varied. When they were first instituted, many women considered them an imposition on their time, but once the women were "educated" by the family planning workers about the "importance" of the tests (some were fined for not participating), they were resigned to coming to the family planning clinic four times a year. Some women expressed appreciation that the tests provided needed gynecological care for rural women. Others noted that the tests were a time for women to socialize.
- C** ***Comments about Services.*** Women had few complaints about their current service delivery point, although larger percentages of women in North Anhui than in South Jiangsu reported experiencing problems (17 to 18 percent had complaints in North Anhui compared with less than 1 percent in County A and 9 percent in County B in South

Jiangsu). The main complaints in North Anhui were that the SDPs had long waiting lines and were crowded and that they were far from women's homes. Some women in County C and County B complained about the cost of services.

C ***Men and Family Planning.*** Most survey respondents said that services for men existed at their local family planning clinics (or service stations). Vasectomy services were more readily available for men in North Anhui than in South Jiangsu, although the program has stopped encouraging men to be sterilized, because female sterilization is so effective. In the FGD, men noted that family planning use was usually the responsibility of women, although some young men said they wished there were better methods for men. Unease about men and women receiving services at the same time at family planning clinics did not appear to be a significant barrier to male involvement in contraceptive use. A bigger barrier to male use of contraception appeared to be the defacto emphasis in the program advocating use of female methods, namely female sterilization and the IUD (also see Liu, 1997).

C ***The Reproductive Health of Young Adults.*** The Chinese government is concerned about controlling young people's fertility and meeting the reproductive health needs of young people and thus the gap in coverage for young people between school and marriage. The government is also worried about young people's increased participation in premarital sex and cohabitation. In the FGD, young people said the subjects of sex and reproductive health were taboo in rural areas and that the information they received in schools was limited. Young people said they usually have to wait until marriage to find out about "that stuff."

E. *Family and Household Roles*

As shown in section 3.A, the physical, material and demographic context of the lives of women and men in South Jiangsu and North Anhui differed. Women and men in South Jiangsu were more educated, were less likely to work as farmers, and lived in larger houses with fewer household members, and had more consumer goods and means of transportation.

This section explores the social context of family and household roles, including the changing roles of women, men and other family members. The effect of family planning on respondents' satisfaction with their marital relationships is also discussed. Respondents' satisfaction with the number and sex of their children is examined, as is their experience with out-of-plan births and their treatment of male and female children. Finally, the desires of young unmarried women and men for spouses and children are described.

1. Usual Residence of Husband

In many areas of rural China, migration to urban areas for work is common, particularly among men (Chan, 1997). In the study areas, it is more common for men in North Anhui to reside outside the home (8 percent compared to 4 percent, according to women). Thus, for the most part, the respondents in the survey lived in families in which their spouse was present on a daily basis.

Table 3.E.1.
Usual Residence of Husband, According to Women in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Residence	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Home	95.9	95.7	95.8	95.3	82.5	92.4
Outside	4.1	4.3	4.2	4.7	17.5	7.6
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

2. Household Roles

a. *Cooking*

Participation in housework was measured in the survey through the proxy variable of cooking. In South Jiangsu, about three-quarters of the women say they themselves cooked compared with nearly 95 percent of the women in North Anhui (Table 3.E.2). While men generally agreed with women on the role women play in cooking, it is interesting to note that men were more likely to say they cooked themselves than women were to say that men did the cooking.

b. *Relationship Between Spouses and with Parents-in-law*

In the FGD, women and men were asked about household roles and relationships among family members. Respondents noted that relationships among families members are often affected by economics and that problems tended to be caused by lack of money and resources. During the period of collective rural agriculture in China, which ended in the early 1980s, women were paid fewer “work points” than men, even though they worked equal hours because the prevailing social view was that men’s economic contributions were greater than women’s. At the same time, women contributed more time to household tasks and to child rearing.

Table 3.E.2.
Person Who Usually Cooks in the Household, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in
South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Person	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Self (woman)	71.0	75.1	73.1	94.1	94.8	94.5
Husband	10.1	7.3	8.7	2.1	2.3	2.2
Mother/mother-in-law	16.4	17.0	16.7	2.9	2.0	2.5
Other	2.4	0.5	1.5	0.8	0.9	0.9
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
According to men						
Wife	78.4	64.0	71.2	89.0	93.7	91.3
Self (husband)	13.6	18.4	16.0	7.1	5.2	6.1
Mother/mother-in-law	7.6	17.6	12.6	2.8	0.4	1.6
Other	0.4	--	0.2	1.2	0.8	1.0
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

As more women work outside the home for an income, their status in the home is changing. Some women have reached high positions in work units; some of these women have more social standing or “face” than their husbands. Men are increasingly participating in household work (many reluctantly). More and more husbands are supporting their wives’ labor force participation, and decision-making is increasingly becoming a joint endeavor.

One 58-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with two sons noted the change in women’s status and relationships within the family.

“Families look like the men take most responsibility, but it actually is the women. Woman can take part in social activities -- even the People’s Congress -- it all depends on the ability of the woman.” (omjw2-9)

A 44-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one daughter said that working women do not have enough time to do all the household tasks.

“Things men can do women can also do, so housework is usually done by women, but they don’t have time to finish it. Usually men work outside, women inside. Now women do a lot of work outside too.” (rwjx1-1)

A 39-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with one son said:

“Whoever has time does the housework. My husband does work in the fields, and I wash the clothes.” (rwjw2-4)

A 37-year-old woman from South Jiangsu said that she and her husband spend most of their time working and that their child takes up a significant amount of time also. She said they have some time for entertainment.

“After work, I do Karioke [singing] in my home. My husband has a shop in town. Our time is spent on 1) employment, 2) our child, 3) entertainment.” (rwjwl-4)

Women who are successful at work and earn a good living say they have more say in household decision-making. A 40-year-old South Jiangsu woman who has one son and who has worked as an embroiderer for more than 10 years earns more money than her husband. She said:

“My position is equal to my husband. I can spend money and discuss with my husband. My parents generation fought because they were poor.” (rwjwl-5)

A 47-year-old man from North Anhui who has two sons said:

“Now it has changed. When there is a town meeting it is mostly the man who will participate, but sometimes the woman. Women have become important in decision-making in the family.” (omab1-3).

A 38-year-old man from South Jiangsu with one daughter said, when asked what kind of role should a wife play:

“She should provide one of the main sources of income and education for the children. I hope my daughter can get a high education in university if she studies hard. The relationship between my wife and my mother is good. I play an important mediating role.” (rmjw2-4)

The increase in the number of women working outside the home and earning money has changed relationships within the family. Usually in the past, mothers-in-law took responsibility for the household. Daughters-in-law had to respect their mothers-in-law and to “look their mothers-in-law in the face” when they wanted something. Now when mothers-in-law are old, daughters-in-law can earn money so the daughters-in-law have more voice in the family. According to a 54-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one son and one daughter:

“In older generations, mothers-in-law usually took more authority. Now it is the opposite. If we want a smooth relationship, the old should become the young.” (owjw2-7)

Some female entrepreneurs, particularly, feel role strain between their work and their family life. Many of them have made the decision to make their work top priority. A 46-year-old entrepreneur from South Jiangsu who has one son explained:

“On my relationship with my husband, I work, and am serious. My work doesn’t have regular hours so my husband isn’t always happy. He jokes that he cooks the food, but it’s cold by the time I get home. He says, ‘It is hard to make you fat. You have lost weight.’ He jokes that he has become an ‘Aunty Buy, Cook, Wash’ (ma da shou), which means a housewife. Since people and the leaders trust me, I need to work hard. I take little time for family and children. When I work hard and achieve, I feel very happy.” (fejx1-3)

Some female entrepreneurs said they expected help and understanding from their families. A 43-year-old South Jiangsu woman with one son recounted her experience.

“After I got married I felt I needed help from my family. My husband is a reeducated youth from the city. He worked in a geology team. At the beginning, he was not willing for me to work as a leader; he wanted me to be a technician. I told him I wanted to find a spouse who supported me to work (that was my first requirement). In 1979, I was sent to a silk factory in the city for training. I was forced to stop breastfeeding early. I talked to my husband and later to my mother and got support from both my husband and mother. I had to persuade them. After training, I took responsibility for production at the whole factory. What gave me headaches were business tours. When someone in the family is sick, it also gave me headaches. I thought several times that I should give up my job but didn’t.

Now in the factory, we have a nursery school, a woman’s association and a clinic. Every year we have progress. The efficiency of the factory is high. Family planning performance is high. When I am free, I try to do housework. I have little time to talk to my children. When I go home, I cook good dishes for my husband, and I tell my children to listen to their grandparents. My mother is also busy. Sometimes my husband and mother are angry with me but I make funny faces at them. I tell them next time you should find a good wife to do the house work. But this time, forget it.” (fejl-2)

A 38-year-old female entrepreneur from South Jiangsu who has one daughter said that having one child makes housework lighter. She also said her husband participates in housework.

“Because I have only one child, I can do the housework with my husband. I get up early to do it.” (fejl-1)

A young unmarried man age 21 from North Anhui said that the relationship between husbands and wives is changing and that women have the opportunity to get an education and earn an income and to have a say in decision-making.

“Nowadays, whoever is more capable, with more education and more income, that person will be in charge.” (ymab2-5).

A 51-year-old man from North Anhui with one son and one daughter also noted the changing relationships within households.

“After marriage whoever is capable can be in charge. Daughters-in-law are not discriminated against by mothers-in-law, or if so, very few. There used to be a lot of discrimination.” (omab1-1).

Older people talked about the tensions they feel with their children, particularly children’s disappointment at parents as providers. A 69-year-old North Anhui woman with five children lamented:

“Younger people complain, we aren’t capable because we didn’t build them big houses, arrange jobs, etc.” (owab1-5, 69).

One 55-year-old woman from North Anhui who has four children said:

“They don’t like black and white TV, they want color. My daughter-in-law has one child. She walked away and left the baby for the grandmother to look after. She is not at home the whole day. We take good care of her child. She has left the hard job for her mother and mother-in-law. She herself has fun.” (owat1-14)

Some young married women indicated that they rely on their mothers or mothers-in-law to care for their children. Said a 25-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one son:

“I care most about my child. My mother-in-law takes care of my child. We ourselves look like kids. When I go back to my parents I usually don’t take my child. After I had my child, I went back to the factory. I don’t want to take my child. My mother-in-law said in the future if my son gets married, the great mother-in-law will take care of the child. I won’t!” (rwjx1-7)

3. Satisfaction with Children

a. Satisfaction of Family Members with Number of Children

As shown in Section 3.B, couples in South Jiangsu have about 1.3 children on average, while couples in North Anhui have 1.8 children. In a country like China, in which the value of children (particularly sons) has been so high, satisfaction with one's household and family roles is likely to be related with satisfaction with family size. As shown in Tables 3.E.3 and 3.E.4, the largest percentage of women and men in each county said they have the right number of children, according to their circumstances. The level of satisfaction with number of children was highest in County A and lowest in counties B and D. In County A, perceived satisfaction with number of children was 85 percent or higher, compared with half to 75 percent in counties B, C, and D. Those who were not satisfied tended to say they have too few children, rather than too many. Reported levels of satisfaction among women and men were generally the same in each county. It is interesting to note that women and men both perceived that men's parents were less satisfied than women's parents with the number of children a couple had.

b. Satisfaction with Number of Children by Sex of Children

Level of satisfaction with number of children was linked with the sex composition of the family in some areas. Tables 3.E.5 and 3.E.6 shows the percent of respondents who said they were happy with their family size, among those who had one son, one daughter, one son and one daughter, and two daughters. Respondents in County A (in South Jiangsu) tended to be happy with whatever number and sex of children they had. Approximately half of the respondents in County B in South Jiangsu who had one child (either a boy or a girl) thought they had too few children, while more than 90 percent of those with either a son and a daughter or two daughters thought their number of children was fine. Respondents in both Counties C and D who had one son were happier with their family size than were those with one daughter. The most satisfied were those who had one son and one daughter (more than 90 percent of those respondents said they were satisfied). Respondents with two daughters reported higher levels of satisfaction than did those with either one son or one daughter. Women and men had very similar opinions on their levels of satisfaction, according to the number and sex of the children.

Table 3.E.3.
Level of Satisfaction with Number of Children, According to Women and Men in Two Counties in
South Jiangsu Province, China: 1996
(In percent)

Family member	County A					County B					Subtotal				
	Too few	Okay	Too many	DK/NA	No. of cases	Too few	Okay	Too many	DK/NA	No. of cases	Too few	Okay	Too many	DK/NA	No. of cases
According to women															
Self	7.6	91.3	1.1	--	(735)	31.5	63.9	2.3	2.3	(740)	19.6	77.6	1.7	1.2	(1,475)
Husband	6.4	92.5	1.1	--	(735)	32.0	62.0	2.6	3.4	(740)	19.3	77.2	1.8	1.7	(1,475)
Parents-in-law	11.6	84.8	0.5	3.2	(735)	35.4	47.4	1.1	16.1	(740)	23.5	66.0	0.8	9.6	(1,475)
Parents	11.0	86.1	0.5	2.3	(735)	36.5	53.5	1.6	8.4	(740)	23.8	69.8	1.1	5.3	(1,475)
According to men															
Self	2.8	94.8	2.4	--	(248)	33.5	60.4	3.3	2.9	(245)	18.1	77.7	2.8	1.4	(493)
Wife	0.8	96.8	2.0	0.4	(248)	33.5	61.2	2.9	2.4	(245)	17.0	79.1	2.4	1.4	(493)
Parents-in-law	10.0	89.6	--	0.4	(231)	38.1	54.1	1.7	6.0	(231)	24.0	71.9	0.9	3.2	(462)
Parents	10.9	88.2	0.8	--	(238)	40.5	52.2	1.7	5.6	(232)	25.5	70.4	1.3	2.8	(470)

Table 3.E.4
Level of Satisfaction with Number of Children, According to Women and Men in Two Counties in
North Anhui Province, China: 1996
(In percent)

Family member	County C					County D					Subtotal				
	Too few	Okay	Too many	DK/NA	No. of cases	Too few	Okay	Too many	DK/NA	No. of cases	Too few	Okay	Too many	DK/NA	No. of cases
According to women															
Self	19.7	63.8	15.6	0.8	(716)	20.7	59.6	19.0	0.7	(700)	20.2	61.7	17.3	0.8	(1,416)
Husband	18.6	65.2	14.5	1.7	(716)	19.1	62.0	17.6	1.3	(700)	18.9	63.6	16.0	1.5	(1,416)
Parents-in law	26.0	55.3	5.4	13.2	(716)	24.7	56.0	8.6	10.7	(700)	25.4	55.6	7.0	12.1	(1,416)
Parents	21.9	55.6	4.7	17.7	(716)	20.4	54.0	7.9	17.7	(700)	21.2	54.8	6.3	17.7	(1,416)
According to men															
Self	20.7	60.3	19.0	--	(242)	22.9	60.8	15.9	0.4	(245)	21.8	60.6	17.5	0.2	(487)
Wife	21.8	59.4	18.4	0.4	(239)	21.2	62.0	15.1	1.6	(245)	21.5	60.7	16.7	1.0	(487)
Parents-in-law	20.6	51.5	12.9	15.0	(233)	23.8	51.5	8.1	16.6	(235)	22.2	51.5	10.5	15.8	(468)
Parents	27.9	53.3	10.5	8.3	(229)	29.4	54.5	8.9	7.2	(235)	28.7	53.9	9.7	7.8	(464)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 3.E.5.

**Level of Satisfaction with Number of Children, For Selected Number and Sex of Children,
According to Women and Men in Two Counties in South Jiangsu Province, China: 1996 (In
percent)**

Number/sex of children already born	County A					County B					Subtotal				
	Too few	Okay	Too many	DK/ NA	No. of cases	Too few	Okay	Too many	DK/ NA	No. of cases	Too few	Okay	Too many	DK/ NA	No. of cases
One son															
Women	7.2	92.5	0.3	--	(359)	44.5	52.7	--	2.8	(281)	23.6	75.0	0.2	1.3	(640)
Men	2.6	97.4	--	--	(114)	50.0	48.6	--	1.4	(74)	21.3	78.2	--	0.5	(188)
One daughter															
Women	9.6	90.4	--	--	(314)	50.7	46.8	--	2.5	(201)	25.6	73.4	--	1.0	(515)
Men	4.4	95.6	--	--	(90)	50.6	42.2	--	7.2	(83)	26.6	69.9	--	3.5	(173)
One son and one daughter¹															
Women	--	94.1	5.9	--	(34)	--	100.0	--	--	(126)	--	98.8	1.3	--	(160)
Men	--	95.5	4.5	--	(22)	--	100.0	--	--	(38)	--	98.3	1.7	--	(60)
Two daughters															
Women	--	100.	--	--	(10)	--	93.8	2.1	4.2	(48)	--	94.8	1.7	3.4	(58)
Men	--	100.	--	--	(4)	6.3	87.5	6.3	--	(16)	5.0	90.0	5.0	--	(20)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding. ¹In either birth order.

Table 3.E.6.
Level of Satisfaction with Number of Children, For Selected Number and Sex of Children,
According to Women and Men in Two Counties in North Anhui Province, China: 1996
(In percent)

Number/sex of children already born	County C					County D					Subtotal				
	Too few	Okay	Too many	DK/ NA	No. of cases	Too few	Okay	Too many	DK/ NA	No. of cases	Too few	Okay	Too many	DK/ NA	No. of cases
One son															
Women	36.8	61.9	--	1.3	(155)	46.5	53.5	--	--	(129)	41.2	58.1	--	0.7	(284)
Men	38.3	61.7	--	--	(47)	46.0	52.4	1.6	--	(63)	42.7	56.4	0.9	--	(110)
One daughter															
Women	58.7	37.6	1.8	1.8	(109)	73.1	24.0	1.0	1.9	(104)	65.7	31.0	1.4	1.9	(213)
Men	70.3	29.7	--	--	(37)	71.9	21.9	3.1	3.1	(32)	71.0	26.1	1.4	1.4	(69)
One son and one daughter¹															
Women	4.3	91.0	4.8	--	(188)	1.0	94.8	3.7	0.5	(191)	2.6	92.9	4.2	0.3	(379)
Men	4.9	91.8	3.3	--	(61)	3.6	90.9	5.5	--	(55)	4.3	91.4	4.3	--	(116)
Two daughters															
Women	17.6	70.6	8.8	2.9	(34)	9.1	81.8	9.1	--	(11)	15.6	73.3	8.9	2.2	(45)
Men	7.7	92.3	--	--	(13)	--	100.0	--	--	(4)	5.9	94.1	--	--	(17)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding. ¹In either birth order.

c. *Satisfaction with Number of Children: Views from the FGD*

In the FGD women and men were asked about the number of children they had, the benefits and difficulties of having that number of children and how many children they would like to have. Many people said they didn't want more than they had because housing is a problem and marriage costs are high. People generally thought that having one or two children was enough. However, some also noted the risks of having only one or two children, including worrying about the child's safety and education and about their own old age support.

Said a 35-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one son:

"Not many women have two children. Only the older generation had three or four."
(rwjw1-1)

A 68-year-old man with eight children who is from North Anhui talked about the expense of having too many children.

"I had to borrow several thousand yuan for my children to marry. Now we are still paying back the loan. We have no money to build a house or to buy fertilizer. If I didn't have so many children, I wouldn't have had to borrow so much money. My sons don't pay the loan because they are also poor. They don't have the money either." (omab2-5)

A 42-year-old woman from North Anhui who has two sons and a daughter said:

"I have two sons -- that's too much burden. They have to go to school and get married. That is going to be expensive."

Parents worry about their children, particularly now that couples are having only one or at the most two. One 40-year-old woman with one daughter from South Jiangsu said:

"I worry about the safety of my child, about traffic accidents and health. Some kids drowned swimming in a lake. Every day when children cross the street for school, I worry. If a child dies in an accident, a parent may get insurance, but what good is the money without the child?" (rmjw2-5)

A 32-year-old woman from North Anhui who has two children said:

"I worry about my child who is four years old."

A 35-year-old woman with one son from South Jiangsu also mentioned the fear among people with one child.

“In the past, if women went out too much, people thought badly of them, but now there is freedom and society is open. In the past families were poor -- there was nothing to steal. Now things have become worrisome because people only have one child.” (rwjw1-8)

When asked when a parent’s responsibility for their children is finished, a 55-year-old man from South Jiangsu who has one son and one daughter reiterated the traditional rural view.

“Usually in rural areas after having the first child, schooling is the first responsibility. You look to see if your children will have a bright future. The second responsibility is their marriage. The first month after the birth of grandchildren, we drink wine, then our responsibility ends.” (omjx2-3)

4. Sex Preference

a. Desire for the Sex of the First Child Among Family Members

Respondents were asked if their families had a preference for a son or a daughter before the birth of their first child. Questions such as these are speculative since respondents are asked to go back to a time before they had their current family. Yet answers do reveal some preference for sons, even in hindsight. Table 3.E.7. shows that while most respondents said their families had not considered the sex of the first child, or that they had no preference at the time, those who did state a preference were much more likely to say their families wanted a son than a daughter (again, with the exception of County A in South Jiangsu). For example, in North Anhui, about one-quarter of the women and 30 percent of the men said their families wanted sons, compared to 5 percent of women and 4 percent of men who said their families wanted daughters before the birth of their first child. Women’s and men’s perceptions of their families’ preferences were similar in both provinces.

Respondents were asked why they wanted their first child to be either a son or a daughter (or either). As shown in Table 3.E.8, the largest percentage of respondents (between 44 and 74 percent) noted that sons and daughters are the same. Women and men in North Anhui were more likely to note that they wanted sons to carry on the family line and for old age support than for labor power. In contrast, women and men in County B in South Jiangsu who had a preference for a son were more likely to say they wanted a son for labor than for either carrying on the family line or old age support.

Table 3.E.7.
Family's Desire for a Son or a Daughter Before the Birth of the First Child, According to Women
and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Item	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
No consideration	19.9	48.1	34.0	36.3	43.3	36.7
A son	3.4	19.5	11.5	24.7	23.4	24.1
A daughter	6.4	5.1	5.8	6.6	4.0	5.3
Either	70.2	27.2	48.6	37.8	28.4	33.2
NA	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.8	0.7
Number of cases	(735)	(740)	(1,475)	(716)	(700)	(1,416)
According to men						
No consideration	48.0	46.1	47.1	30.6	41.6	36.1
A son	3.6	22.4	13.0	29.8	30.6	30.2
A daughter	0.8	3.3	2.0	5.8	2.9	4.3
Either	47.6	26.5	37.1	33.5	24.9	29.2
NA	--	1.6	0.8	0.4	--	0.2
Number of cases	(248)	(245)	(493)	(242)	(245)	(487)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

b. Sex Preference: Views from the FGD

Sex preference among women and men was also apparent in the FGD, although some of the participants preferred daughters over sons. Stronger son preference was found in North Anhui than in South Jiangsu. The agrarian economic base continues to favor sons. Men were seen as the core of rural families, and sons take the responsibility for old age support and continue the family line. In one county in South Jiangsu, however, people have an economic reason for wanting girls -- for their embroidery skills. As agriculture becomes more mechanized, the need for sons is decreasing. Once born, there appears to be little difference today in the treatment of girls and boys in families. Everyone wants their sons to be dragons and their daughters to be phoenix, traditional symbols of strength, good fortune and prosperity in China.

Table 3.E.8.

Reason for Family's Desire for a Son or a Daughter Before the Birth of the First Child, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996 (In percent)

Item	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Need male labor	3.0	16.4	8.3	4.4	6.1	5.3
Carry on the family line	0.5	11.2	4.7	16.8	21.7	19.0
Elderly support	0.7	9.4	4.1	13.8	14.8	14.3
Daughter nicer to parents	6.3	6.2	6.3	4.9	1.8	3.4
Daughters less expensive/ easier to raise	0.5	1.0	0.7	1.2	2.3	1.8
If first is daughter can have another child	0.7	2.1	1.2	4.6	4.8	4.8
Son or daughter are both okay	87.8	52.1	73.7	52.5	46.7	49.7
Other	0.5	1.6	1.0	1.8	1.8	1.8
Number of cases	(558)	(384)	(972)	(495)	(392)	(887)
According to men						
Need male labor	4.6	21.9	13.2	7.8	4.9	6.5
Carry on the family line	1.5	10.1	5.8	18.5	28.0	22.9
Elderly support	0.0	8.6	4.3	16.2	17.5	16.8
Daughter nicer to parents	0.8	6.3	3.5	3.6	2.1	2.9
Daughters less expensive/ easier to raise	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.6
If first is daughter can have another child	0.8	0.8	0.8	5.4	5.6	5.5
Son or daughter are both okay	91.5	49.2	70.4	46.7	39.8	43.5
Other	0.8	3.1	2.0	0.6	2.1	1.3
Number of cases	(129)	(128)	(257)	(167)	(143)	(310)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

In South Jiangsu, mostly older women talked about preferring sons. According to one 55-year-old woman with two sons:

“My mother-in-law said it is inferior to have daughters. If you have a son, even your house will look higher.” (owjx2-3)

A 60-year-old woman from North Anhui with four sons and two daughters said:

“If you have a son, you will be seen as a strong family relative to families that have no son, which are regarded as weak. Family strength is important. If you have sons, no one will think about fighting you. After all, males are stronger than females.” (owab1-1).

A 44-year-old woman from South Jiangsu described the pressure her mother felt to have a son.

“My mother had nine daughters. My father wanted a son, but in the end there was ‘nothing behind to carry on the family line.’” (rwjx1-4)

Another 55-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with one son and two daughters also expressed the pressure she felt to have a son.

“I was married in 1962 and had my first daughter the same year. I then had a son because my mother insisted. After the birth of my son, I got sterilized, because family planning was available from the county at that time. A lot of women were getting sterilized. My mother wanted me to have another son, but I refused. She supported me after I got sterilized.” (owjx2-4)

A North Anhui woman age 60 with five children (two sons and three daughters) said she felt pressured by her husband to have a son.

“My husband was stupid. He said, ‘You are making me look foolish by not giving me a son!’ The second wasn’t healthy. The third was a son. My husband was happy but our lives were miserable.” (owab2-3).

A 47-year-old man from North Anhui with two sons added:

“In rural areas there is a lot of feudal influence. Males carry on the family line, have the physical strength to do the work. When elders die, the son can be nearby rather than the daughter.” (omab1-3).

A 22-year-old woman from South Jiangsu talked about how sons were viewed among her parent’s generation.

“People say my parents had ‘late happiness,’ because they had a son in their 40s.” (ywjw1-5)

One just-married 25-year-old woman from North Anhui with no children wants a son, even though she thinks boys and girls are the same:

“If I don’t get a son, I will consider that my fate is bad. After all, boys or girls are the same. I am a graduate of senior high school, but I still think boys are better. Of course, if I have a daughter, I will love her. At home, my mother and grandmother think it’s bad to have a daughter. Most people think if you have no son, you will still want another. If you only have a daughter at home, you are considered incapable. That is stupid, but people in villages think that way.” (rwab1-3).

A married women, age 25, from North Anhui who does not yet have children said:

“If you have no son, you have missed something in your life. You didn’t accomplish something. [You are being punished for something your ancestors did.]” (rwab1-3).

One 28-year-old woman from North Anhui who does not yet have children said that women with two daughters are particularly pitied in the community.

“To have high status in the community, you need a son. Otherwise you are looked down upon in the family and community. Especially women with two daughters. There is very much discrimination against these kinds of women by the mother-in-law and the family. They live miserable lives, especially if they are sterilized. Then there is no more hope. You terminated your family line.” (rwab2-6).

Some women are treated badly by parents-in-law and husbands because they have no more children, even though they are accorded protection under the law. A woman aged 25 from North Anhui who has no children said:

“Without sons, your husband will dislike you and you will have low status.”

When asked if she knows about the women’s law that protects against such treatment, she said:

“If [women] know, they may try to protect themselves, but how do they know? Most women have little education, so how can they protect themselves? It is worse if you have a handicapped child. You will be the most discriminated against. When walking in the street, you don’t know if you should walk before or after people. After all, we are only women! We don’t know how to behave. A handicapped son or daughter are both bad. But even 9 daughters aren’t equivalent to one crippled son. That’s a prevalent belief in the village.” (rwab1-5)

Son preference is stronger in North Anhui than in South Jiangsu. Since the mid-1980s, family planning in North Anhui has been strictly controlled. Once the first child is a boy, people are not allowed to have more children. If the first is a daughter, they can apply for another child. Couples

with one daughter mostly want to try to have another child. Many will do anything to make sure the second is a boy. Some seek traditional medicine and fortune-tellers, while others rely on ultrasound machines which dot the countryside -- even though it is illegal to use ultrasound to reveal the sex of the fetus.⁶

According to one 47-year-old woman from North Anhui who has two sons:

“People use an ultrasound B machine. If it is a female fetus, they don’t want it. People will usually go elsewhere to check -- for example, in Henan province. No matter how much money they have to spend, they think it is worth it.” (omab1-3)

Others rely on less scientific means to guarantee a child’s sex. A 29-year-old woman from North Anhui with two daughters said:

“If you require me to go three days without eating I’ll do that to have a son.” (rwab2-6)

A 25-year-old woman from North Anhui who does not yet have children described the elaborate measures some women take to have a son.

“Pay attention to diet. If you eat different things you will have a child of a different sex -- you can even change the sex of the fetus. If you eat iron chain and white chicken together you will have a son. The chicken shouldn’t come from your husband, you must find it yourself. You should eat it alone without anyone seeing you. That you are doing so should not be known to anyone. When you are pregnant, you should let people look at your shape to tell if you have a boy or girl. If you want to decide the sex of the fetus, you need to think about what sex you want. Someone who has a son will then get sterilized. But if you have a daughter, you won’t get used to it. One woman went to see a fortune-teller after her second pregnancy. The fortune-teller asked, ‘How old are you and when did you get pregnant?’ The fortune-teller said it was a girl. But when she aborted it, it was a boy. If you have a daughter as a second birth, you must have a sterilization, so that is your last chance.” (rwab1-5).

When asked if she thought people could tell the sex of the fetus from the ultrasound B she said:

“Yes, but they can’t let you know directly.”

Along with the development of the rural economy, the economic base for son preference is also changing, particularly in areas such as South Jiangsu where men and women can both contribute to

⁶Zheng et al. (1992) noted that couples who want a son often obtain the results of ultrasound scans through bribes or personal connections.

the family income by working. Women also make money for the family and can participate in decision-making. Rural areas are beginning to reject the son preference ideology.

Some people said having daughters was better than having sons. Their reasons were mainly economic but also social -- some people said daughters take better care of their parents and are nicer and easier to raise than sons. According to one 74-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has three sons and one daughter:

“Having daughters is better than having sons. If you have a son, it is like drinking insecticide, but if you have a daughter, it is like drinking fruit [from a story about an old man who killed himself by drinking insecticide because he was abused by his son]. If you have a son, you need to build him a house.” (omjw1-4)

Another 68-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with four daughters also noted that daughters are better.

“My four daughters have one child each. When one daughter’s mother-in-law found out she was pregnant with a girl, she wanted her to have an abortion. I disagreed. I gave her the name Wake Up From A Dream. Boys and girls are the same -- people shouldn’t dream of having a boy. One of my sons-in-law is adopted into our family. In the beginning he wanted a son, but I supported them to have only one daughter.”

According to a 37-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one son:

“If I had another child, I’d suffer until I was 40. If I had another son, I’d have to build a house for him.” (rwjw1-9)

A 35-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one son said that she and her mother-in-law wanted a daughter.

“When I was pregnant I wanted a daughter and so did my mother-in-law. Before delivery, the doctor asked if we wanted a son or daughter, and my mother-in-law said a girl. My mother-in-law had three boys and a girl. Three brothers have four boys, and the daughter also had a boy (she had five children). This is hard, if everyone has sons it will be difficult to find a wife. It is difficult to raise boys -- they are troublemakers. Girls are lovable. When a girl grows up, she can learn to embroider and make money. In my village, girls don’t worry about jobs -- they pick up the needle.” (rwjw1-2)

One 34-year-old South Jiangsu mother who had one daughter said she hopes her daughter does something other than embroidery. She also explained why some people prefer daughters to sons:

“My daughter is 11. I don’t want her to do embroidery. I want her to go to university. But I don’t want her to go too far from me. I don’t want my son-in-law to make much money. Some sons-in-law don’t stay honest -- the divorce rate is high. Men go gambling. The social environment is not so good now, so if we have sons, we worry.” (rwjw1-5)

A 51-year-old man from North Anhui with one son and one daughter noted that with the increased use of farm machinery, women can contribute fully to farming.

“We are now relying on machines for farming, so girls can also do the work. Men and women can help each other. Women can join rural enterprises such as wheat powder and table-making” (omab1-1)

A 47-year-old man from North Anhui with two sons said it will take time to completely end son preference in his area.

“If you want to eradicate all discrimination in son preference against daughters, it will take a long time. This is just part of the rural ideology.” (omab1-3)

A 22-year-old woman from South Jiangsu said that the desire for sons is stronger since couples are allowed only one child where she lives. She added that she does not share that view.

“There is more preference for sons if there is only one child in the family. If a family only has one daughter, it is unlikely that they will feel comfortable. If the social environment were sound, it might not matter. In my eyes after having a daughter, having a son is evidence of discrimination.” (ywjx1-3)

Said a 23-year-old woman from North Anhui:

“It is the same to have sons and daughters.”

A 25-year-old woman from North Anhui noted:

“Whatever men can do we can do. You know women hold up half the sky. It is not just boys who are the sun.”

5. Out-of-plan Births and Consequences

People generally know how many children they can have under the family planning policy in their area (see Table 3.B.1). Still, some people had out-of-plan births, which include births not in accordance with the local family planning regulations in terms of either parity or spacing.

a. Number and Sex of Out-of-plan Children

Couples in North Anhui were more likely to have an out-of-plan birth, and that the child was more likely to be a son than a daughter (Table 3.E.10). Only 2 percent of respondents in South Jiangsu reported an out-of-plan birth (all were reported in County B), compared to about one-third of the respondents in North Anhui. Among those who had out-of-plan births in South Jiangsu, about two-thirds had a son and one-third had a daughter. In North Anhui, some couples had more than one out of plan birth. Among those reporting out-of-plan births, 67 percent of the women and 71 percent of the men said they had (at least) one out-of-plan son, and 43 percent said they had (at least) one out-of-plan daughter.

b. Fines for Out-of-plan Children

Couples were generally fined for having an out-of-plan birth, but as shown in Table 3.E.12, the fines were not fixed amounts per child. Instead, fines were based on location and ability to pay. Generally, fines are supposed to amount to two and a half times the village's per capita income from the previous year. Respondents with out-of-plan births in South Jiangsu paid about twice as much as those in North Anhui. Respondents in County B reported paying an average of about 2,400 Yuan for an out-of-plan birth compared with an average of 1,200 yuan in North Anhui⁷. Respondents in County D were fined slightly less than in County C. As shown in Table 3.E.12, fines ranged from less than 500 to more than 5,000 yuan.

⁷As of January 1, 1995, US\$1 = 8.4 yuan.

Table 3.E.10.
Children Born Out-of-plan in the Family, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South
Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Out of plan children ¹ and their sex	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Any out-of-plan children						
Yes	--	4.1	2.0	34.2	42.6	38.4
No	100.0	95.9	98.0	65.8	57.4	61.6
Number of cases	(735)	(738)	(1,473)	(702)	(698)	(1,400)
According to men						
Any out-of-plan children						
Yes	--	4.5	2.2	33.5	42.0	37.8
No	100.0	95.1	97.6	66.1	58.0	62.0
Don't know/NA	--	0.4	0.2	0.4	--	0.2
Number of cases	(248)	(245)	(493)	(248)	(245)	(493)
According to women						
Sex of out-of-plan children ²						
Sons	--	63.3	63.3	70.4	63.3	66.5
Daughters	--	36.7	36.7	39.2	47.2	43.5
Number of cases	--	(60)	(60)	(240)	(297)	(537)
According to men						
Sex of out-of-plan children ²						
Sons	--	63.6	63.6	72.8	68.9	70.7
Daughters	--	36.4	36.4	42.0	43.7	42.9
Number of cases	--	(11)	(11)	(81)	(103)	(184)

¹Out-of-plan births can include mistimed or extra births.

²Some families had more than one out-of-plan birth, therefore, percentages may not add to 100.

Table 3.E.11.
Amount of Fine for Children Born Out-Of-Plan, According to Women in Four Counties in South
Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Yuan	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
500 or less	--	16.7	16.7	27.5	36.7	32.6
501-1,000	--	30.0	30.0	36.7	32.0	34.1
1,001-2,000	--	20.0	20.0	26.7	24.9	25.7
2,001-5,000	--	26.7	26.7	8.8	6.1	7.3
5,001 or more	--	6.7	6.7	0.4	0.3	0.4
Average fine	--	2,363	2,363	1,142	933	1,026
Number of cases	--	(30)	(30)	(240)	(297)	(537)
According to men						
500 or less	--	36.4	36.4	17.3	35.9	27.7
501-1,000	--	27.3	27.3	53.1	31.1	40.8
1,001-2,000	--	9.1	9.1	16.0	27.2	22.3
2,001-5,000	--	18.2	18.2	12.3	5.8	8.7
5,001 or more	--	9.1	9.2	1.2	--	0.5
Average fine (yuan)	--	2,307	2,307	1,191	961	1,062
Number of cases	--	(11)	(11)	(81)	(103)	(184)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

In the FGD, one 62-year-old man from North Anhui who has seven sons and one daughter mentioned paying a fine for an out-of-plan birth. When asked why he had so many children once family planning had started he said:

“At that time family planning was not serious. If I’d known I’d have to pay a fine, I wouldn’t have had the last birth.” (omab2-4/5)

In North Anhui, a 20-year-old also mentioned the fines people have to pay.

“In our rural areas, family planning only allows people not to have babies but does so by relying on fines.”

6. Treatment of Sons and Daughters and Out-of-plan Children after Birth

a. Celebrations for Children

To ascertain if there are differences in the treatment sons and daughters receive after they are born, respondents were asked if they celebrate the first month, the 100th day or the first birthday of their sons and daughters. As shown in Table 3.E.9, sons were not generally given preferential treatment in celebrations. Most commonly, celebrations were held for both sons and daughters or they were not held at all (or at least not routinely).

Table 3.E.9.
Celebration of First Month, 100th Day or First Birthday of Children, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Item	Jiangsu			Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
No celebrations	4.5	20.5	12.5	20.4	29.1	24.7
Only for son	1.1	10.0	5.6	6.1	3.4	4.8
Only for daughter	0.7	7.3	4.0	1.8	1.9	1.8
Celebration for both	90.7	20.7	55.6	44.0	31.6	37.9
Not regularly celebrated	3.0	40.3	21.7	22.5	31.9	27.1
Don't know/NA	--	1.2	0.6	5.2	2.1	3.7
Number of cases	(735)	(740)	(1,475)	(716)	(700)	(1,416)
According to men						
No celebrations	2.4	17.1	9.7	26.0	27.8	26.9
Only for son	12.1	7.8	9.9	5.0	6.9	6.0
Only for daughter	12.5	10.6	11.6	0.8	2.0	1.4
Celebration for both	59.3	25.7	42.6	50.8	35.9	43.3
Not regularly celebrated	13.7	37.6	25.6	12.4	25.3	18.9
Don't know/NA	--	1.2	0.6	5.0	2.0	3.5
Number of cases	(248)	(245)	(493)	(242)	(245)	(487)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

b. Differential Treatment of Out-of-plan Children

In addition to fines, the Chinese government has stipulated that out-of-plan children will not be given preference for social services. This study indicates that out-of-plan children were not likely to be school dropouts and they were likely to have received medical treatment and immunizations (not shown in a table). Thus, it appears that within-plan and out-of-plan children are treated the same by

families and that out-of-plan children are not penalized by the government, at least in terms of schooling and health care.

7. The Effect of Family Planning on Marital Relationships

Family planning use appeared to have little effect on marital relationships, as shown in Table 3.E.12. Between 89 and 99 percent of the respondents said there was no difference in their relationship with their spouse as a result of using family planning. In South Jiangsu, use of family planning also had no affect on respondents' sex lives, measured by the frequency and quality of sex (Table 3.E.13). Approximately 95 percent of women and men in South Jiangsu said their sexual life was the same before and after family planning use. Between 70 and 74 percent of respondents in North Anhui said that family planning use had not affected their sex lives, and eight to 16 percent said their sex lives were worse after using family planning. It should be noted that between 8 and 15 percent of respondents were unwilling to answer the questions about sex. Perhaps the unwillingness to answer these questions (and the high percentage of positive responses) was due to the lack of privacy during some interviews.

Table 3.E.12.
Changes in Marital Relationship as a Result of Family Planning Use, According to Women in Four
Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Item	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Changes in marital relationship						
Worse	--	0.5	0.3	1.0	1.7	1.4
No difference	99.2	94.0	96.6	88.5	91.0	89.8
Better	0.5	0.4	0.5	5.9	5.1	5.5
Other	--	0.1	0.1	--	--	--
No answer/unwilling to answer	--	2.8	1.4	3.3	1.6	2.4
NA	0.3	2.2	1.2	1.3	0.6	0.9
Number of cases	(735)	(744)	(1,479)	(698)	(692)	(1,390)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 3.E.13.
Changes in Frequency and Quality of Sex as a Result of Family Planning Use, According to Men in
Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Item	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Frequency of sex						
Less than before	0.4	2.1	1.2	17.5	14.0	15.7
No difference	99.6	91.3	95.5	68.4	78.2	73.4
More than before	--	0.4	0.2	2.1	3.7	2.9
No answer/unwilling to answer	--	6.2	3.1	12.0	4.1	8.0
Changes in quality of sex						
Worse	0.4	0.8	0.6	10.7	8.6	9.6
No difference	99.6	91.7	95.7	72.6	75.3	74.0
Better	--	0.8	0.4	4.7	7.8	6.3
No answer/unwilling to answer	--	6.6	3.3	12.0	8.2	10.1
Number of cases	(248)	(242)	(490)	(234)	(243)	(477)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

As a further measure of marital relationships, respondents were asked what they do if they disagree with their spouse about the number of children the couple should have (Table 3.E.14). In each county, respondents said they either agreed with their spouse on family size or discussed the matter together. With the exception of women in South Jiangsu, in other cases where either the wife's or the husband's will was said to prevail, it is more likely that the husband's will prevailed regarding number of children, particularly in North Anhui.

Table 3.E.14.
How Couples Deal with Discord if They Want a Different Number of Children, According to
Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Item	Jiangsu			Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Have same opinion	78.4	45.7	62.0	32.8	44.3	38.5
Do as husband wants	0.4	2.4	1.4	13.5	6.1	9.9
Do as wife wants	0.8	2.6	1.7	6.8	5.9	6.4
Talk to each other	18.4	48.4	33.4	44.6	42.9	43.5
Do as parents/ parents-in-law want	--	0.3	0.1	0.8	0.9	0.8
Other	2.0	0.7	1.4	1.4	0.4	0.9
Number of cases	(735)	(740)	(1,475)	(716)	(700)	(1,416)
According to men						
Have same opinion	77.4	48.6	63.1	27.3	47.8	37.6
Do as husband wants	7.7	4.1	5.9	16.9	9.0	12.9
Do as wife wants	5.6	2.0	3.9	8.7	2.9	5.7
Talk to each other	9.3	45.3	27.2	45.5	39.6	42.5
Do as parents/ parents-in-law want	--	--	--	0.4	--	0.2
Other	--	--	--	1.2	0.8	1.0
Number of cases	(248)	(245)	(493)	(242)	(245)	(487)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

8. Desires of Young People for Spouses and Children: Views from the FGD

In the FGD, young people talked about their desires for a spouse. Most young women noted that they were looking for someone who would understand them and be able to communicate with them (share their outlook on life), someone who would be able to earn a good income or have a good job, and someone who would support their work or careers. Young men were also looking for women who would be good wives and mothers and would be kind to their families. Most young people said they wanted to postpone childbearing once they got married. While these young people envisioned more egalitarian marital relationships than their parents have, it is still evident that men are considered the main breadwinners and women are responsible for housework after marriage.

Young women in North Anhui, ages 17 to 23 gave the following attributes as ones they would like their partners to have:

“He should be educated and knowledgeable and career oriented.”

“He should work hard and get rich.”

“That we get along and have the same preferences and habits.”

“He should love us girls who work in rural areas.

“He should not discriminate against us rural girls who work in rural areas and service agencies [she is a nurse].”

“I don’t care about his appearance, only that he has a kind mind.”

In rural areas, particularly in South Jiangsu, a lot of young people work in township enterprises, which expose them to more urban ideas. They are not considered purely rural people, even though their parents are still rural. Some even have a non-agricultural residence certificate (*hu kou*). Their parents are still rural, but these young people are called “jumped-out-from-agriculture people.” Among their rural friends, their actions and thinking are treated as models. One 24-year-old woman from South Jiangsu said:

“There is not such a big difference between me and my boyfriend. He is preparing to run his own factory. I trust his ability. I don’t like bookish boys who can only read but not do anything. My boyfriend wants me to be a good wife and mother. We were schoolmates. I’m not worried about that. I do not want to be a traditional wife, but I love him.” (ywjw2-3)

A 25-year-old woman from South Jiangsu said:

“My requirement for a partner is that he has good ideology and can take care of others, and that his education is the same as mine. In that case, we can communicate [share a common outlook]. He has to work. I want to find a husband who works in a government office and has a stable salary because to support the family depends mostly on the husband’s salary. I work in a factory. After work I spend a lot of time to make Japanese kimonos. I do it not only for the money but because it is my hobby.” (ywjw1-4)

A number of young people talked about the need to postpone marriage until the couple is on a solid financial footing. A 23-year-old woman from North Anhui said:

“I want to find my ideal but it isn’t very easy. He must understand me and my career. He must have a good mind and be kind. It isn’t easy to find someone like that. I hope my fiancé can understand and support me. You need time to

understand each other. Marriage costs go up with economic development. So most rural youth want to earn money before getting married.” (ywab2-1).

Another 24-year-old woman from North Anhui agreed:

“I want to have a career before marriage. After marriage there is so much housework to worry about.” (ymab2-1)

She added:

“Men in rural areas still think beautiful and kind are the standards for future wives. Education and career are secondary, but also important.” (ymab2-1).

A 24-year-old man from North Anhui noted that women still have a difficult time working after marriage:

“After marriage, it is difficult to go out to work, especially for women. That’s why men and women want to have a chance to work before marriage. Ninety-five percent of young people here will go out to work. If there is no money, married life is miserable.” (ymat2-7).

A 22-year-old man from North Anhui said:

“My girlfriend is an average girl, educated and open-minded, with a certain career. We are classmates. Now she works in rural area with her family. We have been in contact with each other for many years. We have a common language. We want to change ourselves and run an enterprise and lower rural poverty. Maybe planting and raising -- it depends. We want to wait to marry until we are successful. I will become well-known in the whole county.” (ymat1-4/5).

A 25-year-old woman teacher in a township middle school said that she loves her career and her students. She is responsible for the third grade which is a very important grade because after this the children graduate. She said she doesn’t want to marry early because:

“The housework will be too much. I want to do a good job in education and be the main teacher who is the director of the class. If I get married, I can’t do it. My family can’t give me much money for marriage, so I have to make it myself.” (ywab2-2).

A 28-year-old man from South Jiangsu who has one son told about his desires for a wife before he got married and his views after some years of marriage:

“My ideal wife is a Japanese wife who stays in the home. She should support me in my career and share her husband’s burdens. Also, she should have some economic ability. I don’t like women who depend on men. If possible, she should be pretty. Before getting married I wished my wife were prettier. But after we had a child, I became more practical. After marriage the fantasies disappeared. I gave them up and became more practical. Before marriage I had more choices, but after marriage we faced a lot of problems so we became more practical. We both found faults with each other. My wife is an only daughter. She is bad-tempered and cannot do housework. But as we get older, things get better.” (rmjx2-6)

Dating in rural areas remains complicated and semi-clandestine. While young people are taking more initiative in choosing their partners, they are still limited in their opportunities to date, as noted by several young people, particularly from North Anhui. A 23-year-old woman from North Anhui said:

“In rural areas, it is rare to have time to meet a boyfriend. You have to do it quietly. If you are together too often, the older generation will think you are not behaving well. But if you don’t talk, how can you get to know each other?”

A young man of 24 from North Anhui explained in more detail:

“A date with my girlfriend needs two to three days advance preparation. I ask several persons to send a message to the girl before we can meet each other. It is still hard in rural areas. We dream we can be the same as people in the cities and just make a phone call. Here we have to ask three persons to deliver a message. After two days the message finally gets to her hand. Then I need one day to get my mind ready. Then we find a place to be alone. That is hard. It is hard to do it in the day time and the parents of the girl won’t let her go out at night. We can’t use the excuse of watching movies at night because everyone has a TV. Now we have no reason to lie to our parents. It is so flat here, no hills, no trees, we can’t find a place to be alone.” (ymat1-4/5).

For some young people, virginity is important. Some young women and men said that women who have had “miserable pasts” (e.g., been raped or are not virgins) should be looked on with favor. One 22-year-old man from South Jiangsu said:

“First, I have to ask if she got raped and is a victim. Then if she really treats me well, I will forgive her past. It doesn’t matter. I will help her. She will not be a very comfortable person because men will look down on her.” (ymjw1-5)

One young man who wants to be soldier, however, said:

“I’m looking for a pretty girl with common ideas and who is a virgin. I think men are great to forgive a woman who has had a miserable past [e.g., been raped]. I’m not that type of great person.” (ymjw2-8)

Living together and becoming pregnant before marriage occurs but is still uncommon in rural areas. One 55-year-old female village head in South Jiangsu noted:

“I have two sons who lived with my daughters-in-law before marriage. I told them this is bad. Both ended up getting pregnant before marriage. Both had abortions. I ask others to behave well, and my sons do not.” (owjx2-7)

A 25-year-old man from North Anhui said:

“I never heard of it.”

A 24-year-old woman from South Jiangsu said:

“It isn’t common to have people living together before getting married. If someone gets pregnant before marriage, they will abort quietly and go to work the next day. There are some outsiders who live together. They are older and cannot find a partner.” (ywjw1-8)

A 23-year-old man from North Anhui added:

“With the opening of society, it may happen. People will do it quietly if they want to and if the parents have an open mind, and if they think the young people will get married finally, it may be okay. Usually the opposition comes from the girl’s family. It is not because of age. It is because both sides don’t want to get married early, but they are deeply in love. I think I can understand that.”

A 23-year-old woman from North Anhui said that she could understand that young people would want to live together before getting married, but that she would not engage in such “deviant” behavior with her boyfriend.

“I have been with my boyfriend for five years. He works in a wine factory. We are deeply in love. We are close, but there is no deviant behavior. We understand but don’t do it ourselves.” (ywab2-3).

One 25-year-old man from South Jiangsu who works in a hospital said:

“I never saw anyone pregnant before marriage, I have only read about it. I myself wouldn’t take the forbidden fruit, but it is very attractive.” (ymjw1-5)

9. Summary of Section E

- C** ***Gender and Generational Roles.*** In households in South Jiangsu and North Anhui, roles are changing, although for the most part, women are still considered primarily responsible for household work, such as cooking and cleaning.

In the FGD, women and men agreed that as more women worked outside the home, men were slowly (although sometimes reluctantly) increasing their contribution to domestic work. As women increasingly worked outside the home for an income, they were accorded more say in matters with their husbands and parents-in-law. Some older people lamented the lack of respect among the young for their elders -- and the lack of work and child rearing ability among the young.

- C** ***Satisfaction with Number of Children and Sex Preference.*** Preference for sons continues to color perceptions of gender roles and affects women’s status. The largest percentage of women and men in each county said they had the right number of children. Those who were not satisfied tended to say they had too few children, rather than too many. Respondents in County A (in South Jiangsu) tended to be happy with the number and sex composition of their children. In County B in South Jiangsu, people with two children (regardless of sex) were happier with their number of children than were those with one child. Respondents in Counties C and D (in North Anhui) who had one son were happier with their family size than are those with one daughter. The most satisfied were those who had one son and one daughter.

- C** ***Out-of-plan Births.*** Respondents in North Anhui were more likely than respondents in South Jiangsu to have an out-of-plan birth. One-third of the respondents in North Anhui had out-of-plan births compared with 2 percent of respondents in South Jiangsu (all in County B), and out-of-plan children were twice as likely to be sons. Couples were generally fined for having an out-of-plan birth, and the fines were based on location and ability to pay.

- C** ***Desired Sex of First Child.*** While most respondents said their families had not considered the sex of the first child, or that they had no preference at the time, those who did state a preference were much more likely to say their families wanted a son than a daughter (again, with the exception of County A in South Jiangsu). If they stated a preference for a son before the birth of their first child, women and men in North Anhui were more likely to note that they wanted sons to carry on the family line and for old age support rather than for labor power. In contrast, women and men in County B in South Jiangsu were more likely to say they wanted a son for labor than for carrying on the family line or old age support. In the FGD, some women and men stated a preference for daughters because they are easier to

raise and nicer to their parents in old age. Furthermore, women and men in one county in South Jiangsu had an economic reason for wanting daughters--for their embroidery skills.

- C** ***Celebrations for Children.*** Even through many respondents, particularly in North Anhui, wanted at least one son, male and female children in both provinces tended to be given similar celebrations once born.
- C** ***Treatment of Out-of-plan Children.*** Out-of-plan children were not likely to be school dropouts and they were likely to receive medical treatment and immunizations, although the Chinese government has said out-of-plan children will not be given preference for social services.
- C** ***Family Planning and Marital Relationships.*** Family planning use appeared to have little effect on marital and sexual relationships. In addition, women and men reported little couple disagreement about family size; when disagreements occurred, couples generally discussed the situation and reached a joint decision. In other cases, where either the wife's or the husband's will was said to prevail, it was more likely that the husband's will prevailed regarding number of children, particularly in North Anhui. The exception was among women in South Jiangsu.
- C** ***Desired Attributes in a Spouse.*** While people of all generations noted the changing status of women, including women's role in decision-making in the household, young women and men still held traditional views of gender norms and roles. They stated that the husbands would be the primary breadwinners and the wives would have to do household work once married. None of the young men mentioned that they were worried about the possibility of not finding a wife due to the unbalanced sex ratio.
- C** ***Premarital sex and cohabitation.*** Young people in both South Jiangsu and North Anhui seemed to think that premarital sex and cohabitation were uncommon in their communities. Few said they would engage in such behavior, although they could understand young couples who did. Kaufman et al. (1994) found similar results among teens in Sichuan province.

F. Economic, Social and Community Roles

Various generations of women played different economic, social and community roles in South Jiangsu and North Anhui. Younger women have had more opportunities to get an education, to work for an income,⁸ and to participate in community activities. Women living in South Jiangsu and North Anhui provinces also had different opportunities, particularly for work.

1. Education: Views from the FGD

Older women had little chance for education. In the 1950s and 1960s, daughters were less likely to be educated than boys -- poor families could not afford to send all their children to school. Boys were most likely to continue their education while girls dropped out to stay home or work. Younger women are better educated than older women. Young parents give considerable attention to their children's education. They think their children will be disadvantaged if they do not receive an education. Data on education among the FGD participants, shown in Table 3.A.1b., indicate that the younger generation of both boys and girls receive more education than their parents.

A 60-year-old woman in North Anhui said:

"I have four daughters. They complain, 'Why don't you send us to school?' I have no money. I only sent my son to primary school. After that I had no money."
(owat1-8/9)

Among the older generation, some women did fight to receive an education. According to one 55-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with two sons:

"In the past, even though our family was so poor, my mind was open. My father wouldn't let me go to school. My father said even if a daughter survives to 100, she's in another family. My mother felt otherwise. I was in a private school until the first year of senior high school. My family was poor but tried to keep me in school. My brother and sister went to junior high school. In 1958, during the Great Leap Forward, I got into a factory. People in the village all opposed me going to school. My parents quarreled. In my village, only three girls had been to junior high school." (owjx2-3)

Some women push their daughters to excel. According to one woman, age 36, from South Jiangsu:

⁸The labor force participation of women in China is one of the highest in the world (82 percent of women worked in the labor force in 1992).

“I care most about the education of my child, who is in grade six of primary school. She’s very timid but has good self-respect. She’s also slow in reaction. During second grade, I made her study calligraphy. Now among her peers, her scores are okay. In fourth grade, she had a computer class. I asked my daughter’s score -- she was in the middle plus. She has the energy to study well. I bought her a 486 computer. We would like to invest in children’s education. But how should we invest in our children’s schooling and nutrition? We neither have the time nor the knowledge.” (fejx2-9)

Said a 37-year-old South Jiangsu mother of one daughter:

“There is an expectation for my children to have a higher education than me. I’m in a correspondence course.... I say to my daughter, I’m at this age and still studying.... I expect her to have a good education, including moral and health. I ask her to do as much for herself as possible. (rwjw2-5)

2. Employment: Views from the FGD

As noted in Section 3.A, more than 90 percent of the survey respondents in North Anhui worked as farmers. Most respondents in South Jiangsu worked as employees in local enterprises (62 percent of the women and 47 percent of the men), as farmers (21 percent of the women and 14 percent of the men), or were self-employed (10 percent of the women and 15 percent of the men).

Rural industries started early, particularly in South Jiangsu. In the 1960s villages had factories that employed women. It was common for women who were not yet married to work. The level of employment for women has changed. There are more female managers and also many successful female entrepreneurs. Women working outside the home are no longer considered unusual. Rural enterprises recruit women workers, especially those already married and who have completed childbearing, and those with few children.

According to a 44-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one daughter:

“Women’s status is higher now, of course. In the past women couldn’t work outside the home. Women my age all have jobs.” (rwjx1-1)

One 78-year-old man from North Anhui who has eight children said:

“Younger women seem liberated. They have it much better than in the past. In the past, even if women wanted to go out to work, they couldn’t. Every parent wants their child to be a dragon [strong and successful] but they can’t all be. Now everyone tries to go out and make money. Most women now just go out to work but not by having their own business.” (omat2-5).

A 55-year-old woman from North Anhui talked about the difference in status between her generation and the younger generation of women.

“Oh my gosh, young women are in heaven, and we are on the ground. We aren’t even 10 percent as good as them.” (owat1-11).

Said a South Jiangsu woman, age 36, with one daughter:

“I work in a factory where there are 997 workers, of whom half are women. The work requires a lot of difficult and heavy work (dyeing textiles). The women get equal pay for equal work. The top workers are posted on the wall -- most are male. Usually the woman will take care of the income of the family because they are more careful and responsible. Women work more and enjoy less. Income is regardless of sex, but women tend to be better at technical jobs -- they work hard and are more careful. Out of 28 to 29 technical jobs in my factory 15 to 16 are held by women.” (fejx2-5)

Said a 42-year-old female school principal from South Jiangsu who has one son:

“Women’s status has improved. When it comes time for bonuses and promotions -- salaries and benefits in promotions, I don’t see men way ahead and women behind in my school. It is the character of women that they are more careful. It is not necessarily true that women’s achievements are less than men’s.” (fejx2-1)

A 43-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one son recounted her first work experience:

“My parents’ home was very poor. I finished primary school, and at age 16 I went to work in a factory. The work was so hard I forgot I was a woman. I only wanted to make more money. The plastic factory has three shifts a day. I was a group leader in competition with a male company (my team has all women). Our group got first place in quantity and quality of products. The men said it was unfair -- that we women got special treatment. I think equal pay for equal work is good. But at that time (1976) men got 10 work points and women, eight. Our factory was the first to implement the equal pay for equal work system. I got promoted from team leader to supervisor of the workshop and later to vice secretary of the factory.” (fejl1-2)

A 35-year-old mother of one son in South Jiangsu explained that her embroidery was the main source of income for her family.

“Here embroidery is a traditional job. Even mothers and grandmothers can do it. I started very small by watching. I was eight when I did it. My parents had only three children, and I’m the second. My family is poor. When I was 11, I went to Suzhou to trade my products. Since then, I’ve been able to do the dragon and phoenix. At

some time, I went to school, but I dropped out. My salary is the main source of income for my family.” (rwjw1-2)

Said one 34-year-old woman from North Anhui who has one son and one daughter:

“Three months after the second child, my man got sterilized. I went away for work but got called back for a female sterilization. I didn’t want more. We have fewer children, enough to eat and we can go where we want to. My husband works in the fields on cash crops. I go out to sell plastic string in three provinces. Years ago it was easier to sell, now it is more difficult. I went out with others. It was hard work but necessary. I go home during heavy season. Women often go out now, so people don’t say bad things about them. Women are even respected and considered capable.” (rwat2-8/9)

A 40-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with one daughter talked about getting a one-child certificate:

“I worked in the tax revenue department in 1981⁹. I got a one-child certificate 10 days after I had my first child. I often had to go to the countryside to get revenue. Three years later I shifted to statistics work. I’m very strong and have never cried. I’ve dedicated myself to my work for the government.” (fejw1-3)

Women who are not married and who have not had a child may actually be at a disadvantage when seeking nonagricultural work outside the home.

Another 51-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with one son said:

“To join a factory, unless one is married and has a child, will cause a burden to the enterprise.” (fejx2-6)

A 36-year-old section chief in a factory in South Jiangsu who is a mother of one daughter noted:

“We want staff who are married and have one child. Usually after their one child is born they don’t have anything to bother them. If they have two children it will affect their time available for work.” (fejx2-6)

Some young men complained that women are perhaps given too much help from the government. A 26-year-old man from South Jiangsu said:

“In some sense, women’s status is higher than ours.” (ymjx2-6)

⁹Tax work is considered even harder than family planning work.

A 24-year-old man from South Jiangsu made a similar statement:

“The Women’s Association gives women a hand on their back but we don’t have any help.” (ymjx2-6)

Women and men place a priority on how they can make money to provide better housing and education for their children. One 43-year-old woman from North Anhui who has two sons and one daughter explained:

“I just want to get rich to have a house for my son. I think all the time about how to do business.”

Another 30-year-old woman from North Anhui who has one daughter said:

“Although now we have fewer children and the economic burden is lighter, we still want to make more money. As long as we have enough to spend, we’re all right.”

A 29-year-old mother of one sons from North Anhui noted:

“I have to work more to make more money for my son. I have to build a house for him and his wife and save for myself for when I’m old.”

Some young people said they forego their leisure time to do more work. According to a 24-year-old woman from South Jiangsu:

“Work is too busy. We have no time to play. After work we have to do other things like sewing embroidery to make more money.” (ywjw1-8)

In contrast, some people said that young people do not know how to work. One 55-year-old woman from North Anhui who has four children said:

“Because we now have machines for agriculture, [young people] have never worked in the fields. Young women can’t knit sweaters well. They would rather buy them.” (owat1-14)

A young man from South Jiangsu, age 29, who has one daughter, made a similar comment about the younger generation.

“Now I hire someone to work in the fields for me. In my generation, we no longer know how to do the fieldwork -- we have to hire someone to do it.” (rmjx2-3)

3. Wages and Other Payments

From the 1950s through the 1970s, people were theoretically protected by the State, sometimes referred to as the period of the “iron rice bowl.” In cities, people’s “work units” took care of them and in rural areas, people were organized in communes. Payment for work came through work points -- 10 points for men and eight points for women -- regardless of the work performed. Since the beginning of the new economic responsibility system in the early 1980's, State support for people’s welfare has been reduced.

Table 3.F.1 shows the source of nonagricultural payment for work in South Jiangsu and North Anhui. Unfortunately, respondents were not asked about other sources of income, thus Table 3.F.1 does not capture all payments for work. Still, it is striking that while 72 percent of women and men in South Jiangsu received a wage for their work, only 2 percent of women and 8 percent of men in North Anhui were paid through wages.

Table 3.F.1.
Means of Nonagricultural Payment for Work, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996 (In percent)

Type of payment ¹	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Women						
Wage	65.4	78.3	71.9	1.7	1.5	1.6
Self-employed	17.5	10.0	13.7	7.2	5.3	6.3
Household economic income ²	65.4	5.7	35.5	37.8	53.8	45.8
Sale of handicrafts ³	46.6	5.2	25.9	4.3	8.7	6.5
Service income ⁴	13.8	3.1	8.4	11.9	19.0	15.4
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
Men						
Wage	66.0	77.6	71.8	7.9	7.1	7.5
Self-employed	19.2	13.2	16.2	10.6	8.7	9.7
Household economic income ²	83.6	2.4	43.0	37.8	52.0	44.9
Sale of handicrafts ³	29.6	4.0	16.8	5.1	12.3	8.7
Service income ⁴	7.6	8.4	8.0	26.0	44.4	35.2
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

¹Multiple responses were possible.

²For example, raising pigs, ducks or chickens, or cash crops such as vegetables.

³For example, selling embroidery or other hand-made goods.

⁴Income from providing services to others.

4. Family Income

a. Level of Family Income

Average family income was significantly higher in South Jiangsu than in North Anhui, as shown in Table 3.F.3. While women and men in County A in South Jiangsu said their families earned an average of about 21,000 yuan in 1995, respondents in County C in North Anhui said their families earn around 4,000 yuan.

Table 3.F.3.
Average Family Income in 1995, According to Women and Men, in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In Yuan)

Respondent	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women	21,736	17,735	19,736	4,135	4,872	4,504
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
According to men	20,072	16,222	18,144	3,834	4,487	4,159
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

¹Multiple responses were possible.

b. Perception of Level of Family Income

As an indication of respondents' level of satisfaction, they were asked if their family income was higher than average, average or lower than average for their area (Table 3.F.4). Some 60 percent of the women and men in both provinces said they thought their family income was average. In South Jiangsu approximately 20 percent of respondents considered their family income to be higher than average, while the reverse was true in North Anhui, where 30 percent of the women and men said their family income was lower than average.

5. Spending Money Earned

With the exception of savings, the patterns of spending of household income among respondents in South Jiangsu and North Anhui were similar (Table 3.F.5). The most common categories for spending were house building and repair, children's needs and elderly support. Respondents in South Jiangsu, who had higher incomes, were far more likely to save some of their income than respondents in North Anhui, although one-quarter of the respondents in both provinces indicated that they had invested some of their income. When questioned about spending habits, men were more likely to say they spent some family income on their own activities. Women were less likely to

say they spent money on clothes and cosmetics. Men were likely to say they spent money on their wives, while women were less likely to say they spent money on their husbands.

Table 3.F.4.
Perception of Level of Family Income, for Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Level of family income is:	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Higher than average	12.8	23.6	18.2	10.2	10.3	10.2
Average	76.6	49.8	63.2	56.8	58.5	57.6
Lower than average	10.1	24.0	17.1	32.0	30.2	31.1
Do not know	0.4	2.7	1.5	1.1	1.1	1.1
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
According to men						
Higher than average	15.6	30.0	22.8	13.8	7.1	10.5
Average	71.6	50.0	60.8	54.3	63.1	58.7
Lower than average	12.8	16.0	14.4	30.7	29.4	30.0
Do not know	--	2.0	2.0	1.2	0.4	0.8
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Housing and children's needs accounted for the largest portion of spending for families in both provinces (Table 3.F.6). However, in County C (North Anhui), women said children's needs took up the largest portion of income, while savings took up the largest portion of income in County A (South Jiangsu), the most prosperous county.

A minority of respondents had participated in a loan program (not shown in a table). Approximately 20 percent of respondents in North Anhui said they had taken out a loan, compared to fewer than 3 percent of the respondents in South Jiangsu. In families that had taken out a loan, the husband was the borrower in about 75 percent of the families, while the wife was the loanee in about 10 percent of the cases, and other family members took out the remaining loans.

Table 3.F.5.
Spending From Money Earned, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu
and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Category of spending ¹	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
House building/repair	99.3	93.3	96.3	87.1	90.8	89.0
For self ²	96.7	75.2	85.9	58.2	57.7	58.0
For children	98.3	92.9	95.6	91.6	90.9	91.2
For husband ²	50.6	24.8	37.7	52.5	45.5	49.0
Elderly support	82.0	62.7	72.3	73.8	75.8	74.8
Investment	37.0	12.4	24.7	24.2	21.5	22.9
Savings	90.9	71.2	81.1	27.7	23.6	25.7
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
According to men						
House building/repair	100.0	98.0	99.0	94.1	97.6	95.8
For wife ²	99.6	80.4	90.0	91.3	90.1	90.7
For children	99.2	98.0	98.6	92.1	96.4	94.3
For self ²	86.8	62.4	74.6	76.4	66.7	71.5
Elderly support	92.8	73.6	83.2	84.6	86.1	85.4
Investment	34.0	18.8	26.4	26.8	30.6	28.7
Savings	97.6	80.8	89.2	30.3	31.7	31.0
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

¹Multiple responses were possible.

²For spending on women (self or wife), respondents were given examples of spending for clothing and cosmetics. For spending for men (husband or self), respondent were asked about spending for social activities.

Table 3.F.6.
Largest Category of Spending From Money Earned, According to Women and Men in Four
Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996 (In percent)

Category of spending	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
House building/repair	56.2	53.5	54.9	28.6	39.5	34.1
For self ¹	2.0	1.5	1.7	2.9	2.3	2.6
For children	20.4	25.7	23.1	40.8	38.7	39.8
For husband ¹	--	0.3	0.1	3.6	2.5	3.1
Elderly support	0.1	0.1	0.1	3.1	2.1	2.6
Investment	4.5	2.8	3.7	5.0	6.9	5.9
Savings	15.0	10.7	12.8	4.4	3.7	4.1
Other	1.7	5.5	3.6	11.5	4.1	7.8
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
According to men						
House building/repair	57.6	58.4	58.0	37.0	42.9	39.9
For wife ¹	--	0.8	0.4	0.4	2.4	1.4
For children	10.0	19.2	14.6	29.5	33.7	31.6
For self ¹	--	2.0	1.0	7.5	7.1	7.3
Elderly support	--	0.4	0.2	3.5	2.4	3.0
Investment	5.2	7.2	6.2	6.7	6.3	6.5
Savings	27.2	10.8	19.0	3.9	2.0	3.0
Other	--	1.2	0.6	11.4	3.2	7.3
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

¹ For spending on women (self or wife), respondents were examples of spending for clothing and cosmetics. For spending for men (husband or self), respondent were asked about spending for social activities.

6. Social Welfare Benefits

The government is trying to widen the coverage of social welfare benefits, particularly old age insurance, to more citizens. Present coverage extends only to urban residents employed in jobs in the formal sector (Liu, 1997). Among the survey respondents, workers in the formal sector received an array of social welfare benefits not available to agricultural workers. Such benefits, as shown in Table 3.F.2, included paid sick leave; maternity leave; old age, health, life, hazard and disability insurance; and housing allowance. Analysis of the social welfare benefits that women and men received shows the similar protection for men and women but reveals the enormous differences

between the two provinces. The largest percentages of women and men receiving all categories of social welfare benefits lived in County A in South Jiangsu, while the smallest percentages lived in County C in North Anhui. For example, 96 percent of women in County A in South Jiangsu said they received a housing allowance, compared to 12 percent in County B, 13 percent in County D and 2 percent in County C. Thus, women and men in North Anhui were virtually unprotected by social welfare benefits.

Table 3.F.2.
Social Welfare Benefits Received by Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Benefit ¹	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Sick leave with pay	33.0	12.4	22.7	0.5	1.3	0.9
Maternity/child care leave	87.4	57.5	72.5	0.4	5.1	2.7
Old-age support insurance	91.1	19.2	55.1	0.5	2.4	1.5
Health and life insurance	96.5	37.5	67.0	0.8	3.9	2.3
Hazard pay and disability insurance	54.7	30.1	42.4	0.7	4.3	2.5
Housing allowance	95.9	12.4	54.1	2.4	13.2	7.8
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
According to men						
Sick leave with pay	60.8	22.8	41.8	3.1	2.4	2.8
Maternity/child care leave	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Old-age support insurance	98.8	24.8	61.8	1.2	2.0	1.6
Health and life insurance	98.8	41.6	70.2	1.2	4.8	3.0
Hazard pay and disability insurance	68.8	40.8	54.8	0.4	5.6	3.0
Housing allowance	93.2	16.0	54.6	2.0	9.9	5.9
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

¹Multiple responses were possible.

7. Old-age support

a. *Who is Dependable in Old-age Support?*

The convergence of the open market economy under the new economic responsibility system and the fertility policy, which have governed people's productive and reproductive lives since the early 1980s, has implications for their old age support. Tables 3.F.8 and 3.F.9 show respondents' opinion on their level of concern about old-age support, who they think is dependable for support in old-age

and who they would like to live with when they get older. Not surprisingly, women and men in County A, the most prosperous county in the study, were least concerned about support for themselves in old age. Surprisingly, both women and men in County B (which is more prosperous than the two counties in North Anhui) were the most concerned.

When asked on whom they think they can depend for old-age support, respondents generally said they will look to their spouses for support. Men were more likely to list themselves for support than were women. Respondents in each county were more likely to say sons were more dependable than daughters for old-age support, although 21 to 30 percent of the men and women in South Jiangsu and 12 percent of the respondents in North Anhui thought daughters were dependable for elderly support. Few respondents said the government is dependable for old age support.

When they are old, virtually all the male respondents expect they will be living with their spouses, while, curiously, the women expect to be living by themselves. Respondents in all four counties showed a preference to live with sons over daughters, particularly in South Jiangsu, where a large percentage of the respondents had single daughters.

b. Number of Children and Old-age Support

Women and men were asked: “Now most families have fewer children than before. Do you think this situation means more or less security for your old age support?” The respondents were not asked to picture a certain size family. The responses for selected family sizes and sex compositions are shown in Table 3.F.10 for South Jiangsu and in Table 3.F.11 for North Anhui. Surprisingly, women and men in North Anhui were the most likely to say that having fewer children means more security for their old-age support (77 percent of the women and 82 percent of the men). Of course, “fewer children” in North Anhui likely means two while in South Jiangsu it likely means one child. Men in County B in South Jiangsu were the most likely to say that having fewer children means less security in old age, and women and men in South Jiangsu were both more likely than their counterparts in North Anhui to say that the number of children does not necessarily mean more security.

Table 3.F.8.
Opinions on Old-age Support, According to Women in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North
Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Item	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Worried about old support?						
Yes	6.7	38.3	22.5	28.8	14.3	21.5
No	93.3	61.7	77.5	71.2	85.7	78.5
Who is most dependable for your old age support?¹						
Self	40.6	25.3	32.9	47.0	33.2	40.1
Spouse	75.7	84.7	80.2	75.2	69.0	72.1
Son	42.1	54.3	48.2	39.4	57.9	48.7
Daughter	33.8	26.2	30.0	13.8	12.4	13.1
Grandchildren/relatives/friends	--	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2
Township government/ village committee	3.7	2.9	3.3	1.3	7.7	4.5
Other	1.6	0.7	1.1	1.9	2.8	2.3
When old, expect to live with:¹						
Spouse	11.0	10.7	11.3	39.2	26.8	33.0
Self	98.8	96.0	94.7	88.2	87.6	87.9
Son	49.7	58.3	54.0	37.3	56.7	47.1
Daughter	37.2	31.4	34.3	11.1	6.8	9.0
Grand children/relatives/friends	--	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.7	0.4
Elderly home	--	0.4	0.2	1.5	2.0	1.7
Other	0.3	--	0.1	1.2	1.2	1.2
Number of cases	(740)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)

¹Up to two responses were possible.

Table 3.F.9.
Opinions on Old-age Support, According to Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui
Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Item	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
Worried about old age support?						
Yes	6.8	32.0	19.4	24.4	13.1	18.8
No	93.2	68.0	80.6	75.6	86.9	81.2
Who is most dependable for your old age support?¹						
Self	86.4	49.2	67.8	43.3	39.7	41.5
Spouse	79.2	58.8	69.0	73.2	69.4	71.3
Son	20.8	48.4	34.6	48.4	58.7	53.6
Daughter	10.8	32.0	21.4	15.0	7.9	11.5
Grand children/relatives/ friends	--	0.4	0.2	1.2	0.8	1.0
Township government/village committee	2.4	4.8	3.6	7.1	12.3	9.7
Other	0.4	1.2	0.8	3.9	4.4	4.2
When old, expect to live with:¹						
Spouse	99.8	93.6	96.2	91.7	92.9	93.3
Self	74.8	14.8	44.8	31.9	31.3	31.6
Son	16.0	51.6	33.8	52.4	57.1	54.7
Daughter	8.8	33.6	21.2	9.8	3.2	6.5
Grand children/relatives/friends	0.4	0.4	0.4	--	1.2	0.8
Elderly home	1.2	--	0.6	2.4	4.8	3.6
Other	--	0.8	0.4	3.1	3.2	3.2
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

¹Up to two responses were possible.

Analysis of respondents' opinions on the relationship between the number of children and old-age security, according to their current number of children and the sex composition of the children, indicates that having an only daughter made respondents less sanguine about old-age security. Women and men with one daughter were the most likely to say that having fewer children means less security or that old-age security depends on things other than number of children. It is also interesting to note that respondents in all four counties with two children (either a son and a daughter or two daughters) were more likely than were respondents with one child to say that having fewer children means more security.

Table 3.F.10.

Opinions on Number of Children and Old-age Security For Selected Number of Children and Their Sex Composition,
According to Women and Men in Two Counties in South Jiangsu Province, China: 1996 (In percent)

Number/sex composition of children already born	County A					County B					Subtotal				
	More	Less	Depends	DK/ NA	No. of cases	More	Less	Depends	DK/ NA	No. of cases	More	Less	Depends	DK/ NA	No. of cases
Now more families have fewer children than before. Do you think this situation means more security or less for your old age support?															
All families															
Women	61.9	6.1	31.5	0.4	(749)	27.2	42.5	23.3	6.5	(751)	44.8	24.3	27.4	3.5	(1,500)
Men	11.2	6.8	82.0	--	(250)	31.2	43.6	18.8	6.4	(250)	21.2	25.2	50.4	3.2	(500)
One son															
Women	63.0	5.3	31.2	0.6	(359)	22.7	45.4	25.5	6.4	(282)	45.2	22.9	28.7	3.1	(641)
Men	13.2	6.1	80.7	--	(114)	35.1	43.2	17.6	4.1	(74)	21.8	20.7	55.9	1.6	(188)
One daughter															
Women	59.2	7.6	32.8	0.3	(314)	23.4	53.7	17.9	5.0	(201)	45.2	25.6	27.0	2.1	(515)
Men	8.9	8.9	82.2	--	(90)	26.5	50.6	16.9	6.0	(83)	17.3	28.9	50.9	2.9	(173)
One son and one daughter¹															
Women	67.6	2.9	29.4	--	(34)	36.5	31.7	25.4	6.3	(126)	43.1	25.6	26.3	5.0	(160)
Men	13.6	9.1	77.3	--	(22)	39.5	34.2	15.8	10.5	(38)	30.0	25.0	38.3	6.7	(60)
Two daughters															
Women	70.0	--	30.0	--	(10)	47.9	16.7	27.1	8.3	(48)	51.7	13.8	27.6	6.9	(58)
Men	--	--	100.0	--	(4)	31.3	25.0	25.0	18.8	(16)	25.0	20.0	40.0	15.0	(20)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding. ¹In either birth order.

Table 3.F.11.

Opinions on Number of Children and Old-age Security For Selected Number of Children and Their Sex Composition,
According to Women and Men in Two Counties in North Anhui Province, China: 1996 (In percent)

Number/sex composition of children already born	County C					County D					Subtotal				
	More	Less	Depends	DK/ NA	No. of cases	More	Less	Depends	DK/ NA	No. of cases	More	Less	Depends	DK/ NA	No. of cases
Now more families have fewer children than before. Do you think this situation means more security or less for your old age support?															
All families															
Women	79.5	6.8	11.0	2.7	(747)	74.0	4.3	19.0	2.8	(749)	76.7	5.3	15.0	12.7	(1,496)
Men	87.8	4.7	6.3	1.2	(254)	77.0	4.0	19.0	--	(252)					
One son															
Women	74.2	12.9	7.7	5.2	(155)	72.1	4.7	20.9	2.3	(129)	73.2	9.2	13.7	3.9	(284)
Men	80.9	12.8	4.3	2.1	(47)	68.3	4.8	27.0	--	(63)	73.6	8.2	17.3	0.9	(110)
One daughter															
Women	73.4	6.4	17.4	2.8	(109)	67.3	7.5	21.5	3.7	(107)	70.4	6.9	19.4	3.2	(216)
Men	81.1	8.1	10.8	--	(37)	78.1	--	21.9	--	(32)	79.7	4.3	15.9	--	(69)
One son and one daughter¹															
Women	80.9	5.9	11.2	2.1	(188)	73.3	4.2	19.9	2.6	(191)	77.0	5.0	15.6	2.4	(379)
Men	95.1	--	3.3	1.6	(61)	83.6	3.6	12.7	--	(55)	89.7	1.7	7.8	0.9	(116)
Two daughters															
Women	82.4	8.8	8.8	--	(34)	72.7	9.1	9.1	9.1	(11)	80.0	8.9	8.9	2.2	(45)
Men	76.9	7.7	15.4	--	(13)	75.0	--	25.0	--	(4)	76.5	5.9	17.6	--	(17)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding. ¹In either birth order.

c. *Old-age Support: Views from the FGD*

In the FGD, women and men talked in detail about old-age support and the roles sons and daughters play in caring for their elderly parents. According to local custom, once sons get married, they separate from their parents; yet custom dictates that sons should care for their elderly parents. In fact, China's constitution states that adult children have the responsibility for their parents. Daughters marry and have no right to inherit from their parents nor are they responsible for support of their parents. Still, some older people think daughters will treat them better than sons. Participants also described the situation faced by childless older people or those whose children are not around to care for them in old age. For those with no son or no children, they have the "five-guarantees" (food, housing, clothing, health care, burial expenses) from the government.

Many people talked about the need to have sons for old age support. A 36-year-old woman from North Anhui who has one son and one daughter said:

"We are different from city people. A daughter marries out, and there is no one left to get property and inheritance. We have to supply ourselves with housing and food. When we build a house and a daughter marries out, there is no one left. In rural areas we have to have sons to carry on the family line. I have one son and one daughter. Once my daughter leaves, who will be with me?" (rwab1-2).

One 57-year-old woman from South Jiangsu, who has three sons, painted a rosy picture of her retirement days and the help she had received from her sons.

"I get morning exercise for an hour then buy vegetables and cook. Sometimes I join mass activities, especially for the elderly. In the elderly house, one can watch TV and take organized tours. We paid ourselves to go to Zishan and even to Beijing. The kids give me money -- each gave me 1,000 yuan. One son said, go now while you are young. In our group, the oldest is 70. We can help each other. We've been to Nanjing, Shanghai. I even went to Suzhou to join disco dancing. They arranged a big bus for us. We have a team for baseball for the elderly. Old people are very happy now. Thinking about the past is so miserable, now we are happy. When we get old our health is better; we're better psychologically and physically. We get better exercise. In the past, we were poor so people called us 'poor appearance.'" (owjw1-6)

One 59-year-old man from South Jiangsu said that sons and daughters can take of their elderly parents equally well.

"When I got married I thought that men and women are the same, but in rural areas the tradition was for sons to care for their parents. The son would inherit. In some families, who supports the elderly -- daughter and son are the same." (omjw2-6)

Some participants said that daughters are better for old-age support. According to a 58-year-old woman from North Anhui who has four sons and one daughter:

“My son won’t give me even one penny. I’d rather have to give him some back. If it’s a daughter, she may give some. Because daughters marry away, some feel closer to their daughters, since there is less conflict.” (owat1-9/10)

Although China has always had the tradition of families with only daughters “adopting” their sons-in-law in order to keep at least one daughter at home, the practice has become more common -- and more culturally accepted -- since the beginning of the one-child policy (Ma, 1997). Several people talked about the practice.

According to one 55-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one son and two daughters:

“Now with the adopted-son-in-law, old people are very happy. It lets daughters be close to old people -- they take care of parents more thoroughly. Daughters are better, they take care of the home and pay more attention to the home. Village tradition is very important.” (owjw2-8)

A 60-year-old man from North Anhui with one son and five daughters said that such households are fairly common in his village.

“In my village, there are several households like that. They all had their sons-in-law adopted. They do not change their family name and the children will still follow the father’s name. But some children used to follow the mother’s name. The adopted sons-in-law are not discriminated against. These families are rich, have big homes and treat their elderly well. But they do not receive their own block of land. Daughters cannot get the land. We feel land is changing in rural areas, but differences still exist. Finally, one day we’ll see equal status for women. We’ll see changes among young people” (omat2-4).

Some elderly worry about the commitment of the young to take care of their parents in old age. One 62-year-old man from North Anhui who has two sons and four daughters explained:

“Nowadays, the young are not educated. They have bad morality, they are spoiled and they don’t care about others. In most cases, old-age support can be solved through negotiation. Everyone knows about elderly rights to support from the next generation. We have the law on our side.” (omat2-12).

A 54-year-old woman from North Anhui who has four children agreed that younger children are not as respectful to the older generation:

“In my county, nowadays funerals are simple, just the immediate family and two to three tables with 20 to 30 children. If you have two sons, they can share the cost which isn’t much. Every year they’ll go pay their respects. If children are all a bit older, they’ll remember to visit their parents. But the younger generation doesn’t do that.” (omat1-3)

Some participants, like this 55-year-old woman from North Anhui with four children, mentioned that smaller families are better off in terms of support for the elderly.

“Family planning is good for elderly support, if a child has many children, they won’t give to the elderly at the children’s expense. If the child has fewer children, they can be kind to both generations. My son is rich and can visit me.” (owat1-15).

Some old people worry about having no children to care for them. According to a 66-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with four children:

“When we see a family with many children, we see difficulty. Small families have benefits. Several percent of people still want more children, under the table, mostly for old-age support. Because people are living longer, couples will have eight elderly to support. What will they do? Money isn’t the only problem. Who will take care of them? Usually the government only takes care of childless elderly. The one-child policy is okay, but what if an only child dies suddenly and the parents are too old to have another child?” (omjx1-4)

Several people talked about help elderly people can expect to receive from the government through the “five guarantees” if they have no children or are not supported by their children.

One 78-year-old man from North Anhui who has eight children explained:

“The five-guarantee households will get food from the government -- that is what is good about the Communist Party. Each five-guarantee family gets 250 yuan and 600 jin of food each year. The township is responsible for the funeral. They are like my children.” (omab2-9).

A 54-year-old woman from North Anhui with one son and two daughters agreed:

“There is no problem with childless men and women late in life. If they have no children, they go to the government. When there is a festival, the government will come to look after us to have something to eat. In winter we have clothes, and in summer we have clothes. It is better than having children. The cadres bring water and food to my house. If I’m too old to move around, they will bring it to my doorstep.” (owab2-4)

In Anhui, one 61-year-old woman with two daughters said she relies on the government for elderly support, including clothes and an income.

“That’s my understanding of the advantages of the socialist system and family planning, which are both to be accepted.” (owab2-6).

Some people said, however, that elderly homes are negatively viewed within the rural culture. One married women from North Anhui, age 25, who does not yet have children, said:

“People in rural areas are different from in the city. You may go to an elderly home, but you will lose face. If you have children and go to an elderly house, people will still laugh.” (rwab1-3)

A 24-year-old man said, however, that widows rarely stay unmarried in North Anhui.

“No widow will be left in the village because we have bachelors in the village. They are welcome in the village. It is more common to have bachelors in their 30s and 40s. Because we are poor, we can’t afford to have a wife. Now girls of 17 to 18 will not be willing to marry a man of 30 to 40 years, so they have to look for widows.” (ymat2-9)

Some old and young people mentioned that they would prefer to live separately from their parents or children. One 68-year-old North Anhui man with six sons and one daughter admitted:

“I suffered a lot. The six sons -- I’d rather have six daughters. For every son, before marriage, I had to give a house. That costs a lot and takes all your savings. Now I don’t have a place to live. I had to borrow a house from the village. They also gave me a job with 200 yuan a month. I am not willing to live with my sons, the relationships are too hard to deal with. I would rather live alone. (omab1-1)

According to a 22-year-old woman from South Jiangsu:

“My boyfriend’s parents are in their 50s and mine are in their 60s -- both are open-minded. After marriage, we want to live separately and independently. If we live together, we will probably have problems because of differences between the generations. If we live separately we will treat each other better. My parents don’t want us to live with them. Once they get old, I’ll have to take care of them.” (ywjw1-5)

One 35-year-old woman from North Anhui who has two children said she does not worry about her parents yet, in part because she does not have the time to worry about them:

“No they are still young [in their 50s]. We have no time to watch TV. We have to make string until nine to 10 at night.”

8. Participation in Community Activities

a. Women’s and Men’s Participation

Participation in community activities is required. Therefore, it is not surprising that levels of participation in some community activities were high among women and men in both provinces (Table 3.F.7). Women and men in County A in South Jiangsu particularly reported high levels of participation in villagers/women’s committees, family planning publicity activities (e.g., meetings about family planning policies), recreation/sports/travel, and volunteer activities (e.g., planting trees). Few respondents said they participated in religious activities. While participation rates in community activities were similar for women and men in both counties in South Jiangsu, men were more likely than women to say they participated in community activities in North Anhui.

Fewer than 8 percent of the women have held leadership positions in the community, compared with about 25 percent of the men in South Jiangsu and 10 percent of the men in North Anhui (not shown in a table).

b. Participation in Family Planning Work: Views from the FGD

In the course of the FGD, several women talked about their roles as family planning workers. Working in family planning gave the women more visibility in the community. In villages, many family planning leaders and part-time workers are women. Family planning has given women a chance to attend meetings and other social activities -- some women who have worked in family planning have even been selected as village leaders or village party secretaries. However, women encountered community resistance before widespread acceptance of their work.

A 51-year-old former family planning worker South Jiangsu with one son and one daughter remembered:

“Women who are around 35 years old want two children. It was difficult to work on family planning several years ago when couples could only have one child.” (fejx2-1)

Table 3.F.7.
Participation in Community Activities, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South
Jiangsu and North Anhui Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Community activity ¹	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Villager's committee/ women's group	99.9	55.1	77.5	57.0	65.7	61.4
FP publicity ²	99.9	50.6	75.2	39.9	56.3	48.1
Technology training for income generation	81.6	2.4	41.9	11.8	18.8	15.3
Religious activities	8.1	12.5	10.3	12.2	3.3	7.8
Recreation/sports/travel	86.6	20.0	53.3	9.6	15.1	12.4
Voluntary activities ³	88.9	15.2	52.0	69.5	81.0	75.3
Number of cases	(749)	(751)	(1,500)	(747)	(749)	(1,496)
According to men						
Villager's committee	98.4	52.8	75.6	77.2	76.6	76.9
FP publicity ²	97.6	46.4	72.0	53.5	67.9	60.7
Technology training for income generation	90.0	7.2	48.6	21.7	26.2	23.9
Religious activities	4.4	7.6	6.0	3.9	--	2.0
Recreation/sports/travel	91.2	29.2	60.2	16.1	17.5	16.8
Voluntary activities ³	90.0	27.2	58.6	85.8	87.3	86.6
Number of cases	(250)	(250)	(500)	(254)	(252)	(506)

¹Multiple responses were possible.

²FP publicity activities include meetings about family planning policy.

³Voluntary activities include tree planting, road construction, etc.

According to a retired 56-year-old woman from North Anhui with two sons and one daughter:

“Family planning work is the most difficult job under heaven. We don't mind working hard, but the worst thing is that people don't understand our work. That makes me very sorry. In the past, in villages, I gave them methods, including the village leader. They didn't understand me. They didn't give me something to eat. Only pigs feet. In one village, a village leader said, ‘Hurry up and given them something to eat, then make them roll away like eggs (go away).’ I heard it but couldn't say anything. Someone cooked us three dishes, which in rural areas is an insult. Now the difficult period for family planning has passed. Most

people have changed their minds. The technologies and working styles are much better now. Local leaders have also changed their attitudes about family planning workers. The most difficult thing now is to help families develop and get rich, especially helping women who accept family planning to get rich first.” (feat1-5).

Said a 49-year-old woman from North Anhui with four sons:

“The grass roots family planning organization did a lot. Family planning in my village was hard. We had a meeting in 1992 with youth and changed from what was coercive. We had some threats about houses being destroyed, but none actually were. Every village now has two or three Family Planning Association (FPA) groups. They have meetings and discussions. Family planning has become natural with no coercion. The FPA has projects in villages -- raising chickens, etc. People now accept family planning. We also help families with difficulties. For example, for families with two daughters, we have elderly support insurance and give them factory jobs.” (omat2-5).

One 36-year-old woman from North Anhui who has two sons used to be a family planning worker. She said:

“I finally became a woman’s leader. To be successful, one needs to have the spirit to fight. For example, my family built a five room house this year. I went to the city to see how they make homes. I copied the urban design. I was once a family planning worker, but because of jealousy among some people, I quit. Behind the success of women are tears. I paid for my success with tears. Successful women also need a supportive husband. And good relations with family. Also they have to be strong themselves.” (feab1-3).

One 32-year-old party secretary with one son had been a family planning worker for 10 years in North Anhui. Since then she has been a very successful businesswoman. She said:

“In my family, none of our members were selected as cadres. Only in my generation. Since I was selected as a village family planning worker, I tried to do the best job possible in order to be promoted. After 10 years as a family planning worker and leader, I can say that the work is hard. No one understands me except my husband, so I gave up the job. I got pregnant with an IUD, which was discovered during a woman’s test. My husband said since our child has grown up I can have another one. But at that time it was high-tide month [at the end of the period to reach local targets for annual births] so I decided to have an abortion. But I finally had to have a C-section. I suffered a lot in the hospital. Many people came to visit. I felt people understood me, but some said bad things like, ‘You told us to have the operation and now you know what it is like.’ So I gave up my family planning work. Then I ran a chicken factory. When I was a

family planning worker, I spent most of my time doing that, but then I could run a chicken factory and make money. My husband works as a part time teacher. His salary is quite low, so we can't subsist only on his salary, so I have to run a business for my family. I also started a pig farm. I did it by myself. I bought the materials by myself. It made me busy all the time. My husband also works hard in school. I wouldn't let him help me. I was selected this year to be the party secretary [this is an administrative village] so I sold all the pigs and chickens since there was no time to have the business and to tour with the township leader. Since then I have run a fruit factory making jam. Every day we made 4,000 kilos of products." (rwab2-4).

Another North Anhui woman has 20 years of experience with part-time family planning work. She is now 41 years old and has two sons.

"I had my first child in 1978. After the first child, I didn't get pregnant again for four or five years. At that time, I joined family planning work. I carried the basin to help others insert IUDs. I worked with a sent-down youth. I met a woman who scolded me because she didn't want an IUD. Even if I was thirsty I couldn't find water. People pointed to the sewer and said, drink that! One woman said she had had the sterilization operation, but she hadn't (she faked an incision). The couple even wanted to beat me. My family wanted to beat them back. Childbearing to me is also very difficult. I didn't even have a chicken to cook or a place to cook it. So I had to make the bread and raise pigs. Now life is better. We planted fruit trees and herbs. A family planning worker could earn 65 yuan a year at the beginning [1978], which increased year by year to 890 yuan in 1996. This money was related to work performance. If work was successful and good, I would get that allowance. Family planning workers worked hard, but the allowance and benefits were small. There was no time to care for house and home and economic activities. I worked hard because women suffered a lot at childbearing." (rwab2-7).

One 39-year-old woman with two sons and two daughters became a village family planning worker in North Anhui. She often told others her experience to educate them.

"If someone said they are the gorilla [someone with an extra birth who moves around so as not to be found], I say I am the head of the gorillas. When I had my first two sons, I thought that was enough, but in rural areas the family wants more boys for more economic power. So I had to give birth a third time -- it was a girl. Then another girl. Then the family planning worker came my way. My husband wanted to run away, but finally he had a male sterilization. I became a family planning worker in the village. I used my experience. People understood me, so family planning work was easy. Our village was always praised for family planning success. My sons, when they got married, said they didn't want many

children. My husband says one son equals one enemy. When he marries, the daughter-in-law becomes the second enemy.” (feab2-2).

A 36-year-old woman from North Anhui with one son and one daughter said:

“Now family planning isn’t difficult. Now what is difficult is to get rich. I worked making sweaters in a factory. But rural girls aren’t intelligent and disciplined. They come late and go home early. They finish work late, and it is of low quality. I didn’t only work for myself. I led [those girls] to be rich. During a business trip, I wanted to invite someone to have dinner. I found that pigeon soup was one of the dishes. It was a 500 yuan dinner. Since then I have raised pigeons. I raised 600 pairs of pigeons. With the help of the Family Planning Association, I got a 10,000 yuan loan from the bank at no interest. Now I use the 600 pairs of pigeons. I gave 10 poor families in our village work. Next year, I’ll ask the whole village to raise pigeons -- it will become a specialized market. My husband was a teacher. When I got more money, he treated me with respect, saying, ‘My rural wife is good.’ I was selected as a village leader because everyone says I can satisfy the family planning work. I work hard, I have ability. I am trustworthy, so villagers trust me to be a leader. As I said, as a leader I should be in front of everyone. In family planning work, the leader should be a model. I said on the village speaker that I was the first one sterilized. So I got on the bus first.” (feat2-13)

Another women’s leader from North Anhui who is 37 with two sons said:

“I was a [national] model [for family planning]. I got sterilized first. I got an infection and almost died. I have four sisters. My husband’s family was poor. First I wanted a boy. I had two boys. But boys are too nasty. So I wanted a girl. But I didn’t have any more. I was a barefoot doctor -- selling medicine and making money to help others. I was selected as a village leader because I was a barefoot doctor. I organized a women’s group to help five-guarantee households build houses. I got a 70,000 yuan investment and used 20,000 yuan to build a village-run primary school. So I was selected as an Family Planning Association national model. Now our family has nine trucks and a total capital of two million yuan. I think it isn’t easy. Without both of our work, we wouldn’t be successful. Since we are a traditional culture, male cadres still take the dominant role. Women still have opportunities for social roles. Family planning work has given women such an opportunity.” (feat2-15)

9. Summary of Section F

- C** ***Opportunities for Women.*** The women and men living in South Jiangsu and North Anhui provinces inhabited different worlds, even though both study areas were considered rural. Younger women in both provinces had more exposure to education and work opportunities than older women. However, women in South Jiangsu had wider choices for work than did women in North Anhui, who were virtually all farmers.
- C** ***Income.*** Nearly three-quarters of the women and men in South Jiangsu received a wage, compared to fewer than 8 percent in North Anhui. Payment from household economic income was common in both provinces, reported by 36 to 45 percent of the respondents. Some respondents had multiple sources of income. Many women in both provinces said they worked to earn money for their children (for education, weddings and building houses for their sons) and for their own old-age support. Average family income in 1995 was significantly higher in South Jiangsu than in North Anhui (about 21,000 yuan compared to 4,000 yuan).
- C** ***Spending.*** Housing and children took up the largest portion of income for families in South Jiangsu and North Anhui. Respondents in County A in South Jiangsu were the most likely to say that savings took up the largest portion of their income (15 percent of women and 27 percent of men, compared with between 2 and 10 percent of respondents from the other counties).
- C** ***Social Welfare Benefits.*** Since the beginning of the new economic responsibility system in the early 1980s, State support for people's incomes and welfare has been reduced; currently 75 percent of rural elderly are excluded from any government social security net (Xu and Yuan, 1997). Workers in the formal sector receive an array of social welfare benefits not available to rural agricultural workers. There was a vast difference in the social welfare benefit net between the two provinces. With the exception of sick leave, 40 to 75 percent of the respondents in South Jiangsu received social welfare benefits. In contrast, women and men in North Anhui, because they were farmers, were virtually unprotected by social welfare benefits.
- C** ***Old-age Support.*** Respondents in County A, the most prosperous county in the study, were least concerned about support for themselves in old age. It is surprising that both women and men in County B (which was more prosperous than the two counties in North Anhui) were the most concerned. Respondents generally said they will look to their spouses for support. Respondents in each county were more likely to say that sons are more dependable for old-age support than daughters. Few respondents said they would rely on the government for old-age support.

In the FGD, most participants in both provinces said sons were better than daughters for old-age support because daughters marry out of the family (although some spoke of the benefits of having “adopted sons-in-law,” which meant having a son nearby and still having their daughters to care for them). Some said daughters were more filial than sons in helping their parents. A few older participants said younger people in general were not doing their duty of taking care of their aging parents. Some old people spoke of the five guarantees for childless elderly or for those whose children did not support them.

C ***Community Participation.*** Levels of participation in some community activities were high among women and men in both provinces, including in villagers/women’s committees, family planning publicity activities (e.g., meetings about family planning policies), recreation/sports/travel, and volunteer activities (e.g., planting trees). Few respondents said they participated in religious activities.

A number of women in the FGD related their progression from being family planning workers (considered a community activity) to becoming entrepreneurs and even village and government leaders. Working in family planning (considered only slightly less arduous than collecting taxes) gave women a chance to attend social meetings and other community activities and provided a stepping stone to other work. Many related how difficult family planning was in the beginning of the program, and especially at the beginning of the one-child policy when people’s fertility desires were not yet “better aligned” with the government’s policy. Many other past (and present) family planning workers said if a woman in China can succeed at family planning, she can succeed at anything. Family planning enhanced these women’s self-esteem because of the hardships they endured carrying out their work.

G. Individual Psychological and Physical Factors

To measure the relationship between family planning and the psychological and physical aspects of women’s and men’s lives, survey respondents were asked how satisfied they are with several aspects of their lives, including their health, marriage, children, housing and work. In addition, women and men were asked how they thought family planning had affected women’s lives.

1. Satisfaction with Various Aspects of Life

Marriage and children were the two aspects of their lives with which men and women in South Jiangsu and North Anhui were most satisfied (Tables 3.G.1 and 3.G.2). Women in North Anhui who had two daughters (and who were, as a result, to be pitied according to others in North Anhui) expressed the lowest levels of satisfaction with their children. While 69 percent of all women in County C expressed strong satisfaction with their children, only 56 percent of women with two daughters in County C said they were satisfied with their children. In County D, the

differences were more striking: 59 percent of all women said they were very satisfied with their children compared to 27 percent of women with two daughters (not shown in a table). The differences in levels of satisfaction were similar among all men and those with two daughters in the two counties.

The two aspects with which men and women in both provinces were least satisfied were jobs and income and housing conditions. Overall, women in County A in South Jiangsu had the highest levels of satisfaction with all five aspects of their lives, while women in County D in North Anhui noted the least satisfaction with the five aspects of their lives, particularly the jobs and income.

Respondents did not rate highly satisfaction with health. Half or fewer of the women in Counties B, C and D and fewer than half the males in all four counties reported being very satisfied with their health. In contrast, slightly more than three-quarters of the women in County A said they were very satisfied. However, when asked specifically if they had a health problem that affected their lives, fewer than 4 percent of women and men in South Jiangsu and fewer than 10 percent in North Anhui said they had such a problem. Among those with a health problem, 7 percent of the women in South Jiangsu and none of the men, said the problem affected their day-to-day activities. Approximately 8 percent of the women and men in North Anhui with a health problem said it affected their daily activities (not shown in a table).

Table 3.G.1.
Level of Satisfaction with Aspects of Own Life, According to Women in Two Counties in South Jiangsu Province,
China: 1996 (In percent)

Item	County A				County B				Subtotal			
	Very satisfied	Some-what satisfied	Dissat- -isfied	Number of cases	Very satisfied	Some-what satisfied	Dissat- -isfied	Number of cases	Very satisfied	Some-what satisfied	Dissat- -isfied	Number of cases
According to women												
Own health	75.6	21.8	2.7	(749)	39.7	48.3	11.9	(747)	57.7	35.0	7.3	(1,496)
Marital relationship	84.1	15.8	0.1	(747)	63.5	34.3	2.2	(740)	73.9	25.0	1.1	(1,489)
Children	89.3	10.3	--	(736)	66.2	32.7	1.1	(743)	77.7	21.8	0.5	(1,479)
Housing condition	66.2	29.8	4.0	(749)	40.0	50.3	9.6	(747)	53.1	40.0	6.8	(1,496)
Job and income	48.2	42.7	9.1	(749)	26.0	47.0	26.9	(739)	37.2	44.9	17.9	(1,488)
According to men												
Own health	44.4	53.2	2.4	(250)	47.6	47.2	5.2	(250)	46.0	50.2	3.8	(500)
Marital relationship	66.4	33.6	--	(250)	59.6	38.8	1.6	(250)	63.0	36.2	0.8	(500)
Children	63.3	35.9	0.8	(248)	64.4	33.6	2.0	(247)	63.8	34.7	1.4	(495)
Housing condition	38.0	55.6	6.4	(250)	41.6	50.4	8.0	(250)	39.8	53.0	7.2	(500)
Job and income	26.0	56.0	18.0	(250)	36.0	46.8	17.2	(250)	31.0	51.4	17.6	(500)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 3.G.2.
Level of Satisfaction with Aspects of Own Life, According to Women in Two Counties in North Anhui Province,
China: 1996
(In percent)

Item	County C				County D				Subtotal			
	Very satisfied	Some-what satisfied	Dissatisfied	Number of cases	Very satisfied	Some-what satisfied	Dissatisfied	Number of cases	Very satisfied	Some-what satisfied	Dissatisfied	Number of cases
According to												
Own health	50.5	37.6	11.9	(747)	37.5	50.1	12.4	(749)	44.0	43.9	12.2	(1,496)
Marital relationship	57.3	40.0	2.7	(747)	48.3	49.3	2.4	(749)	52.8	44.7	2.5	(1,496)
Children	68.5	27.2	4.3	(714)	58.7	38.0	3.3	(702)	63.6	32.6	3.8	(1,416)
Housing condition	27.6	41.3	31.1	(743)	18.3	50.7	30.9	(749)	22.9	46.0	31.0	(1,492)
Job and income	15.8	26.6	57.5	(732)	11.5	40.4	48.1	(740)	13.7	33.6	52.8	(1,472)
According to men												
Own health	47.2	40.9	11.8	(254)	46.0	49.6	4.4	(252)	46.6	45.3	8.1	(506)
Marital relationship	52.4	44.5	3.2	(254)	61.9	37.7	0.4	(252)	57.1	41.1	0.8	(506)
Children	65.7	31.4	2.9	(242)	62.9	35.1	2.0	(245)	64.3	33.3	2.5	(487)
Housing condition	25.6	40.6	33.8	(254)	15.9	52.8	31.4	(252)	20.8	46.6	32.6	(506)
Job and income	12.0	30.1	57.8	(249)	12.0	42.8	45.2	(250)	12.0	36.5	51.5	(499)

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

2. The Effect of Family Planning on Women's Lives

Both men and women expressed very favorable opinions of the effect of family planning on women's health, household work, education, opportunities for and time at a job, ability to earn more income and time for leisure. As shown in Table 3.G.3, more than 93 percent of women and men in County A in South Jiangsu said that family planning was favorable to all aspects of women's lives. In Counties B, C and D, women and men were somewhat less positive about the relationship between family planning and education, opportunities for jobs and leisure. Still, overall, at least two-thirds of the respondents said that family planning had a positive effect.

Table 3.G.3.
Opinion on the Favorable Relationship between Family Planning and Various Aspects of Women's
Lives, According to Women and Men in Four Counties in South Jiangsu and North Anhui
Provinces, China: 1996
(In percent)

Family planning is or will be favorable for you (your wife) to:	South Jiangsu			North Anhui		
	County A	County B	Subtotal	County C	County D	Subtotal
According to women						
Be more healthy	99.5	92.6	96.0	91.1	94.6	92.8
Lighten household work	99.6	95.9	97.7	92.7	98.4	95.5
Obtain more education	96.3	67.9	82.2	66.3	74.5	70.4
Have more time/ opportunities at job	99.5	93.3	96.4	67.2	76.2	71.6
Earn more income	98.6	93.4	96.0	92.3	96.6	94.4
Have more leisure time	98.5	70.2	84.4	77.8	83.8	80.8
Number of cases	(731)	(726)	(1,457)	(685)	(9671)	(1,356)
According to men						
Be more healthy	100.0	94.2	97.1	94.3	92.8	93.5
Lighten household work	100.0	97.5	98.8	94.3	95.8	95.0
Obtain more education	98.0	68.5	83.4	72.7	78.9	75.9
Have more time/ opportunities at job	99.2	95.4	97.3	74.4	80.2	77.4
Earn more income	95.6	94.2	94.9	89.9	95.8	92.9
Have more leisure time	93.5	75.9	84.9	81.1	86.1	83.6
Number of cases	(248)	(241)	(489)	(227)	(237)	(464)

3. Family Planning and People's Lives: Views from the FGD

In the focus group discussions, women and men made direct links between family planning, having fewer children, and improvements in their lives.

A 70-year-old South Jiangsu woman who has five children said her life would have been different if she had had access to family planning:

"I used to be a primary school teacher. At that time there was no family planning. After having three children, I couldn't participate in any social activities... It would have been better to only have one child. After work, I could only care for my children. I'd have to take my children to work. If family planning had been available earlier, my life would have been different. That is my life-long regret. Because I had too many children, I had to quit." (owjwl-1,4)

A 78-year-old man from North Anhui with eight children said:

"I deeply feel that more children are more of a burden. Eight children had to go to school. I spent almost 35 years with someone in school. At most, I had five in school at the same time. Before the reform and the opening, we did not have enough food to eat -- we had to buy half of our food. Even the local leaders can't afford more kids. Some kids can't even afford to marry" [which now costs about 10,000 yuan]." (omab2-1)

A 70-year-old man from North Anhui who has five children said he heard a story from a local leader:

"He had 23 mou of land back in the 1950s. Now the total number of people in his family is 60. Without family planning it would have been 80." (omat2-2).

A 60-year-old woman from North Anhui who has four children said that family planning has improved the economy of her village.

"Women are proud to say, since they have become more rich, it is easier for boys to find spouses. Everyone accepts family planning now, and at the most two children. This village is rich. There are several shops and a restaurant. Young boys and girls go around to drink beer. Children have instant noodles in the village. Our village looks just like a city because there are fewer children. We don't have to do so much washing. Fewer children makes the per capita income higher. Even boys in the village who are bad looking are still able to find a wife. My village is rich -- that's associated with family planning." (owat2-9).

A 55-year-old woman in North Anhui who has a son and a daughter was a bit more reticent about the effects of family planning. She echoed many people's worries about who would be around for old-age support.

"Family planning is more acceptable now in rural areas. Everyone knows that after birth you have to have an IUD, but frequently the IUD drops out. It is not unusual to have two failures in one year. If we get sick, no one will take care of us. Later when we are old, there will be no one to look after us. We need elderly homes, but the key is the economy." (owjx1-9)

A 39-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one son praised family planning.

"Because of family planning women can work and get rich and they can have better childbearing and rearing. There is better family harmony. Family planning is only good and not at all bad. Now if you want someone to have a baby at 18, she will say no." (rwjw2-5)

A 36-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with one son said that some couples with permission to have another child do not do so for economic -- and personal -- reasons.

"Even those with permission to have a second child don't necessarily want two. One can make money if one uses family planning. A woman with one child still looks like a young woman and can spend money on make-up. The cost of children is high, especially for two. One hopes a boy is like a dragon and a girl is like a phoenix. Even grandparents don't care about the sex of their grandchildren. They want them to have a bright future." (fejw2-5)

A 44-year-old woman from South Jiangsu who has one daughter said it would be economically disadvantageous to have another child, even though she could legally have had two when she got married.

"I work in a factory. I get 4000 yuan a month, which is a good living. I cannot care for more children. If I have more children, my living standard will go down, which won't be good. The children will compete for things like clothes. When I married, I could have two children, but since my family was poor, I only had one. Supporting one child through school is the same amount of money as constructing a cottage. I want better clothes and food." (rwjx1-8)

A 35-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with one son also said that some people forego the opportunity to have another child.

"Family planning is no longer just cadres' business but is also a personal issue. A person in my village could have had a second child, but she didn't want to

because her first pregnancy was difficult and she was on bed rest. Her mother-in-law wanted her to have another but she said no, that she missed the chance to earn money.” (rwjwl-8)

A 28-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with one son praised family planning, both for health and for the family economy:

“Family planning is good for health. We are relaxed in comparison to our parents, who were tired. I can have another child because my husband is an adopted son-in-law, but I don’t want to. I want more energy to work in the kindergarten.” (rwjx2-1)

A 24-year-old woman from North Anhui said:

“Now for rural people, family planning becomes understandable and acceptable. My elder sister has one daughter. She can have another one but doesn’t want it. She has a one-child certificate.”

A 35-year-old woman from North Anhui who has one son and one daughter said people worry less about having more children and more about making money and making sure the children they have do well.

“I worry about prospering. As long as I can make money, I’m okay. As long as my child can go to university with a good score and if I have enough to eat, that’s all. My husband cares about the same things.”

A 24-year-old policeman from North Anhui said he wants to wait to get married and have children.

“I’ll marry but I don’t want children for several years. I want to accomplish something. Since we are young, we want to improve our career so that we have economic power and money, then we want a child. If you have a child, you can’t do anything. Too many children are a burden.” (ymab2-12).

4. Improving the Family Planning Program: Views from the FGD

Finally, people in the focus group discussions also talked about ways the family planning program could be improved. Older people mentioned using their stories of adversity to help the younger generations understand the benefits of having small families.

Said a 60-year-old woman from North Anhui who bore two sons and three daughters:

“After birth, we had to cook, go to the field. We had pain all over. I say to my children, ‘Don’t have too many children.’ I have bad health and can’t work much. I talk to my daughter-in-law with my unfortunate history with fertility.” (owab2-3).

Another woman from North Anhui with seven sons and one daughter agreed:

“I always thought if youth could have these stories of high fertility published, it could help others. I only have a few years of education, so I can’t do it.” (omab2-4/5).

A 60-year-old woman from North Anhui with three sons and one daughter added:

“The childbearing experience of the old should be the best education for the young to voluntarily use family planning. As for the central government to intensify family planning work in IEC, TV stations should have more programs, let all people know and learn and this will be better than having a meeting. Please satisfy our ordinary people’s request and have more TV programs every day.” (owab1-5).

A 47-year-old woman from South Jiangsu with two sons is in charge of family planning in her village. She talked about how to better provide services for couples and how the family planning program is trying to help people economically.

“People’s situation is complicated. We have a lot of self-employed households. It is difficult to work with them on family planning. I thought about how to provide better service to them. My focus is on how to have better services rather than having only one or not on having a second birth. We have two shops for groceries and a department store. The money they make goes to the village. In recent years some of that money has gone to subsidize the elderly.” (fejx1-2)

Younger people also had opinions on improving the family planning program. A 24-year-old woman from North Anhui recommended:

“In rural areas, first let people be educated, then get rid of rural traditions and ideology. If people are educated, naturally they will not want so many babies. If the economy is good but education is low, they will still think more children will bring more power.”

An 18-year-old woman said that family planning needs to continue to be linked with economic development and prosperity.

“Publicize the advantages and also help them have more prosperity, then they will want less children.”

An 18-year-old woman from North Anhui said that too much attention has been paid to economic issues.

“In rural areas, people seek economic success but don’t pay attention to spiritual issues. That’s an issue for the family planning program.” (ywat1-11).

A 20-year-old woman from North Anhui said:

“Also, people want better births and education for children. If there is good health care there will be better health. There is a need to publicize better births and better children.” (ywat2-14)

One 26-year-old man from North Anhui who has no children wants the family planning policy to remain the as it is. He said:

“We don’t want to see any changes in the economic development and family planning policies. We want to find projects for us to have income.”

A 32-year-old woman from North Anhui with two daughters said:

“The integrated approach in family planning is good. It provides us with information.”

Another suggestion for the family planning program was to give special dispensation to couples with two daughters. Said a 36-year-old man with one son and one daughter from North Anhui:

“Those who were sterilized after two daughters want to be waived from voluntary activities [a requirement for villagers].”

A 24-year-old man from North Anhui described the difference between family planning in the past and at present.

“At the beginning of the family planning program, there was one fear that prevailed in rural areas -- people were not afraid of either the sky or the earth. But they were most afraid of the truck with the loudspeaker -- that meant the family planning propaganda truck. But now it is much better. People are knowledgeable and accepting. Family planning is more regulated.” (ymat2-10)

5. Summary of Section G

- C** *Satisfaction with Quality of Life.* In this study, women and men were asked how satisfied they were with several aspects of their lives. The two aspects of their lives with which men and women in both South Jiangsu and North Anhui were most satisfied were their marital relationships and children. The two aspects of their lives with which men and women in both provinces were least satisfied were jobs and income and housing conditions. Overall, women in County A in South Jiangsu had the highest levels of satisfaction with all five aspects of their lives, while women in County D in North Anhui noted the least satisfaction, particularly with jobs and income.
- C** *Linking Family Planning with Women's Lives.* Overall, at least two-thirds of the respondents said that family planning had a positive relationship with health, household work, education, opportunities for and time at a job, ability to earn more income and more time for leisure.
- C** *Suggestions for Improving the Program.* While the fertility policy is more accepted now in the study areas than it was when the one-child program first started, people had suggestions for making the program better. Older people thought their stories of hardship should be publicized. Some young people (particularly men) said they wanted the dual policies of economic development through a market economy and a strong family planning program emphasizing one or two children to continue. Other people asked for more information on family planning, particularly through television. Still others said to stress education and better health for children.

4. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. *Summary*

Since 1979 China has implemented a one-child-with-exceptions fertility policy. Provinces such as Jiangsu, have chosen to implement strictly the policy advocating one child per couple, while others, such as Anhui, have chosen to provide more exceptions for couples to have second children. Thus, the family planning policy, and the resultant fertility decline, have differed throughout China. The generations of Chinese women and men alive today have been affected differently by family planning.

Older women felt pressure to have more children -- particularly sons -- and said they regretted not having better access to family planning and to pregnancy-related health care. China's one-child policy was instituted at a time when the economy was beginning to grow and people were given more freedom to pursue their own economic activities. In addition, the fertility rate had already fallen in the 1970s, indicating that people were not adverse to the idea of having fewer children. While people throughout China welcomed the expanded opportunities for work than only through State enterprises and collective agriculture, few had determined in 1980 that they only wanted one child. Still, middle age respondents said they were compelled to use family planning, which was not always accepted in the early days of the program, particularly when the policy advocating one child per couple was launched. Middle aged women related family planning with having fewer children and thus the ability to focus on earning money for the family. Now, nearly 20 years later, the one-child-with-exceptions policy is a reality and most people are reconciled to having few children. Younger respondents said they want to wait for marriage until they have made something of themselves, or are at least on sure footing financially. Once they get married they will have one child in South Jiangsu and at the most two in North Anhui.

The most negative effect of the family planning policy on women has continued to be the desire for sons. Girls receive strong social messages about their worth: They are less likely to be born, and many grow up knowing that their families and society consider them less desirable than boys. Women do not carry on the family line, do not inherit property, leave home on marriage, and carry the double burden of working and taking care of the children and household. This bias against girls has resulted in a skewed sex ratio. For families reported by women, the average sex ratio among all children was 113 sons to 100 daughters in South Jiangsu and 126 sons to 100 daughters in North Anhui.

Contraceptive use, reported at over 90 percent among survey participants, generally followed the guidelines of the family planning policy and was based on fertility rather than on personal choice. Respondents with one child used IUDs and those with two children were sterilized, particularly in North Anhui where the government has strengthened enforcement of the policy during the past decade. Method switching generally occurred with a change in parity and often at the urging of

the family planning cadre, particularly in North Anhui. Women reported problems, particularly with use of the steel ring IUD, which tended to have high failure rates. The switch to the copper-T IUD should alleviate many of the IUD-related contraceptive failures.

B. Recommendations

The fertility policy is more accepted now in the study areas than it was when the one-child program first started. However, several recommendations emerged from this study on ways to improve services and address gender issues in the family planning program. The SFPC should continue its effort to extend the service orientation in the program and its attempt to extend contraceptive choice to clients. As part of that orientation, several issues emerged:

Expand Reproductive Health

- C** Extend services to young adults and to older women rather than simply focusing only on ever-married women and childbearing. Provide young adults with adequate and accurate information on sex, reproductive health and family planning and ensure their access to contraceptive services.
- C** Develop messages on family planning, reproductive health and women's health (including information from older women) to supplement and complement messages on family planning and the economy (e.g. there are other benefits than just making families wealthy).

Improve Quality of Care

- C** Increase access to other methods, in addition to the IUD and sterilization to make a wider range of contraceptives available.
- C** Reduce the contraceptive failure rate by increasing the range of contraceptive methods available and improving the skills of family planning providers. The switch to the copper-T IUD should help reduce unplanned pregnancy. Women should be informed of the differences between the failure rates of the ring and copper-T IUD so they have more confidence in the IUD as a contraceptive method.
- C** Provide special counseling for postabortion women on preventing future contraceptive failures.
- C** Provide information on reproductive health and family planning through various media, such as television and radio.
- C** Reconsider the four times a year "women's tests." The tests use considerable amounts of women's and providers' time that could better be used for counseling and other

reproductive health services. Requiring women to have these tests four times a year (and fining them if they do not attend) cannot be justified on the grounds of quality of care, the underpinning of which is voluntarism. Providing screening for reproductive problems is laudable and educating women on the need to take care of their reproductive system is beneficial, but should not be tied to mandatory visits to the family planning or MCH clinic.

- C Educate men about safety of vasectomy and make the provision of male sterilization a priority for the program. As part of this emphasis, side effects and failure rates of male sterilization will have to be addressed by the program.

Update Training for providers

- C Incorporate “pioneer” family planning providers’ and users experiences into current provider training.
- C Training for providers on quality of care and gender issues.

Increase the Value of Daughters

- C The status of women is rising -- more women are working and contributing to the family economy. More women are involved in decision making in the family. Some families desire girls over boys, but the vestiges of son preference are strong and continue to exert a strong influence in most families. Girls receive strong social messages about their worth: They are less likely to be born, many grow up knowing their families and society consider them less desirable than boys. Women do not carry on the family line, do not inherit property, leave home on marriage, and carry the double burden of working and taking care of the children and household. The government and society must address these social issues which translate into skewed sex ratios of boys and girls -- and the social problems those sex ratios are creating.
- C Revise the laws on inheritance.
- C Undertake a national publicity campaign on the value of girls.

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Attachment 1

FAMILY PLANNING AND WOMEN'S LIVES

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MARRIED WOMEN AT REPRODUCTIVE AGE

(Translation from Chinese)

ADDRESS: _____ province _____ city _____ county
_____ town _____ village

Name of Interviewee: _____

=====

1. HOUSEHOLD

1.1 Please list the usual members of your household (usually and currently eating and living in this household). How many are they?

(Tell me something about you, your spouse, children, parents and other persons in your family.)

(1) Relationship with you (interviewee)

1=spouse

2=children

3=parent-in-laws

4=parents

5=others

(2) Sex (1=male; 2=female)

(3) Age (if age 6 or less skip to [6])

(4) Education

1=illiterate

2=primary school

3=junior school

4=senior school

5=college and above

(5) Occupation

1=farmer

2=worker

3=individual household

4=cadre

5=others

(6) Note for adopted children and husbands (sons-in-law)

- 1.2 Are you now married or widowed, or divorced (no longer living together)?
1=spouse
2=widow
3=divorce
- 1.3 How old were you when you got first married? And your husband?
- 1.4 Does your husband spend most of his nights in your home or out of home?
1=home
2=out of home
- 1.5 Who cooks usually at home?
1=I myself (wife)
2=my husband
3=my mother/mother-in-law
4=maid-servant
5=others
- 1.6 What is your usual source of drinking water?
1=city water
2=machine well
3=well
4=spring
5=river/lake
6=other
- 1.7 What kind of toilet facility does your house have?
0=no toilet
1=public toilet
2=toilet without watering
3=toilet bowl
4=other
- 1.8 Does your household have a radio? A TV set? A refrigerator? A washing machine? (fill in the number of each item)
- 1.9 Does any member of your household own a bicycle? A motorcycle? A tractor? An automobile? (fill in the number of each item)
- 1.10 How much income did your family members earn last year?

1.11 Is the income of your family higher, equal or lower than the average level in your village?

1=higher than average

2=same as average

3=lower than average

9=DK

1.12 How many rooms in your house belong to your family?

1.13 What kind of house does your family have?

1=clay and straw

2=brick and straw

3=brick and tile

4=building with two or more stories

5=others

What kind of floor does your house have

1=clay

2=brick/cement

3=man-made stone

4=timber

5=other

2. PREGNANCY AND CHILDBEARING

2.1 Tell me about the total times you have become pregnant. Did your pregnancy result in a live birth, a still-birth or a miscarriage?

2.2 How many boys or girls have you given birth to?

2.3 How many surviving children do you have now?

2.4 How many children don't live together with you now? (Children NOT on the list of HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE, including those moved out of home for marriage, study, army service and so on.)

2.5 Did you change your job after you gave birth?

1=no job before giving birth, not yet after birth

2=no job before giving birth, but have it after birth

3=had job before giving birth, keep job after birth

4=had job before giving birth, but stop working after

5=other

2.6 Did you stop your education/training after you gave birth?

0=not at school before giving birth

1=at school before birth, but drop it after birth

2=at school before birth, back to school after birth

3=other

- 2.7 For how many months did you breastfeed your youngest child?
- 2.8 What kind of family planning method did you use before giving birth to the youngest child?
- 0=never use
 - 1=IUD
 - 2=Pill
 - 3=condom
 - 4=periodic abstinence
 - 5=Norplant
 - 8=others
 - 9=DK

3. CONTRACEPTIVE AND ABORTION

- 3.1 How many methods to delay or avoid pregnancy do you know?
(write down the name of methods reported by the interviewee, then count the total number of methods she knows.)
- 3.2 Are you and your husband using any FP method now?
1=yes (skip to 3.3)
If not, have you and your husband ever used any FP method before?
2=not now, but have ever used before (skip to 3.13)
3=never used (skip to 3.23)
- 3.3 Which kind of methods are you using now?
- 1=female sterilization
 - 2=male sterilization
 - 3=IUD
 - 4=Norplant
 - 5=pill
 - 6=condom
 - 7=periodic abstinence
 - 8=others
- 3.4 (Ask the women who use female sterilization, IUD or Norplant) Where did you have your contraceptive operation?
- 1=county FP service station
 - 2=township FP service station
 - 3=village FP service room
 - 4=county hospital
 - 5=town/township clinic
 - 6=other
- 3.5 Please tell me about how you felt when you came home after your first contraceptive operation?

- (1) relaxed or not?
 - (2) afraid of side-effects or not?
 - (3) willing to accept it or not?
- 3.6 How many years have you used this method?
- 3.7 Are you and your husband satisfied or dissatisfied with this method?
- 1=very satisfied
 - 2=somewhat satisfied
 - 3=somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4=very dissatisfied
- 3.8 Why are you using a method?
- 1=limit
 - 2=space
 - 3=other, specify_____
- 3.9 What are the main health problems you believe you are experiencing using the FP method?
- 0=no any problem
 - 1=irregular bleeding
 - 2=heavy bleeding/amenorrhea/ painful periods
 - 3=intermenstrual painful
 - 4=vaginal discharge
 - 5=backache
 - 6=dizziness/blurred vision/headaches
 - 7=weight gain/weight loss
 - 8=other, specify_____
 - 9=DK, NA
- 3.10 What are the NON-health related problems you are experiencing using this method?
- 0=no problems
 - 1=inconvenience of use
 - 2=inconvenience of getting more supplies
 - 3=husband doesn't like method
 - 4=messy to use
 - 5=hard to hide from children
 - 6=other, specify_____
 - 9=DK, NA
- 3.11 Do you plan to keep using the method?

- 3.12 Apart from current methods, have you ever used other methods?
1=never used other methods (skip to 3.14)
2=have used other methods
- 3.13 Why did you give up the method you used to use?
(choose two reasons)
1=side effects from previous method
2=previous method inconvenient/ messy
3=previous method failed
4=FP worker made me switch to current method
5=want a longer efficient method
6=hard to get supplies of previous method
7=husband doesn't like previous method
8=pther, specify _____
9=DK, NA
- 3.14 Have you ever gotten pregnancy while you were using a method or doing something to delay or avoid pregnancy?
if so, how many times did this happen?
if no, filling 00
- 3.15 Have you ever had an abortion?
if yes, how many times?
if no, filling 00 (skip to 3.20)
- 3.16 Where did you have abortion for the last time?
1=county FP service station
2=township FP service station
3=village FP service room
4=county hospital
5=town/township clinic
6=other
- 3.17 What are the reasons for the last abortion?
1=out-of-plan birth, own choice to have abortion
2=out-of-plan birth, FP worker made me abortion
3=planned birth, bad timing for me
4=planned birth, health problems for mother and fetus
5=planned birth, sex of fetus not satisfied
6=planned but unwanted birth, own choice to have abortion
7=other, specify _____
- 3.18 Are there any sequelae on you after abortion?
1=yes
2=no (skip to 3.20)
- 3.19 Who is responsible for that, if there are sequelae?

- 3.20 How about your relationship with your husband after taking contraceptives?
 0=not suitable question (no husband, skip to 4.1)
 1=worse
 2=no difference
 3=better
 4=other, specify _____
 9=not willing to answer
- 3.21 Is there any change about the frequency of sexual intercourse after contraception?
 1=less than before
 2=no changes
 3=more than before
 9=not willing to answer
- 3.22 Is there any change in your feeling during sexual intercourse after contraception?
 1=worse
 2=no difference
 3=better
 9=not willing to answer
- 3.23 (for NON-users of FP method) What are the main reasons you never use a method?(choose two items)
 1=wants children
 2=lack of knowledge
 3=side effects
 4=infertile (either of couple)
 5=amenorrhea (wife), need not to use
 6=husband and other persons in my family opposed
 7=I don't like to use
 8=other, specify _____
 9=DK. NA

4. FAMILY PLANNING

- 4.1 Where do you receive family planning services usually?
- 4.2 What kind of services have you received in this family planning clinic/station ?
 (1) test for pregnancy
 (2) sterilization, IUD and other operations
 (3) family planning consulting
 (4) supply of FP methods
 (5) MCH
 (6) STDs prevention

4.3 Have you experienced any problems with the family planning services you have used most recently?
What were the problems? (choose two items)

- 0=no problems
- 1=messy/ dirty
- 2=long waiting time
- 3=too far from home
- 4=too cold, or too hot in operation room
- 5=costly
- 6=no privacy
- 7=crowded
- 8=others
- 9=not willing to answer

4.4 To your knowledge, are there any further problems with family planning services in this place? (choose two items)

- 0=no comment
- 1=staff unfriendly
- 2=staff didn't seem competent
- 3=not respectful
- 4=shortage of personnel
- 5=shortage of female doctor
- 6=unfair
- 7=other, specify_____
- 9=not willing to answer

4.5 From where have you received information on family planning methods?

- (1) FP workers
- (2) family or friends
- (3) community leaders
- (4) the Media (radio, TV, newspapers)
- (5) printed material

4.6 (for FP methods users) Which method do you think is more suited for you?

- 00=no others except the current one (skip to 4.8)
- 01=pills
- 02=IUD
- 03=female sterilization
- 04=male sterilization
- 05=Norplant
- 06=condom
- 07=period
- 11=others, specify_____
- 88=don't use any method
- 99=DK, NA (skip to 4.8)

- 4.7 Why didn't you use the method that is more suitable for you?
 1=method not available in local service station
 2=policy restriction
 3=due to health problems
 4=husband and family oppose other methods
 5=others, specify_____
- 9=DK, NA
- 4.8 Do you agree with the following opinions:
 (1) husband should accept vasectomy
 (2) husband should use condom
 (3) husband should take more care of his wife after wife received a FP operation
 (4) family planning has nothing to do with husband
- 4.9 Does the local clinic provide family planning services to men?
 1=yes
 2=no
 9=DK, NA
- 4.10 Which kind of services are provided to men?
 (1) FP consulting
 (2) condom
 (3) vasectomy
 (4) fertility policy study
- 4.11 Do you feel easy/comfortable seeing men seeking service at the FP clinic?
 1=no, not uncomfortable
 2=yes, be a little uncomfortable
 9=DK, NA

5. REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICE

- 5.1 Have you and your children ever received any of the following services at the hospital and/or service center?
 (1) gynecological tests (breast, pelvic,...)
 (2) blood tests
 (3) prenatal care
 (4) post-natal care
 (5) nutrition counseling
 (6) child health care (immunization)
 (7) infertility counseling and treatment
- 5.2 Have you received any services besides those above-mentioned?

5.3 At what location would you prefer to receive maternal and child health care (MCH)?

1=family planning service station

2=maternal and child-health-care center

3=hospital/cottage hospital

4=other place, specify

5.4 Do you know if there are venereal infectious diseases in your community?

1=no

2=yes

6. INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PHYSICAL FACTORS

6.1 How would you rate the following aspects of your life? Are you very Satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with:

(1) your own health

(2) your marriage/relationship with your partner

(3) your children

(4) your housing condition

(5) your job and income

6.2 Do you have any health problems that affect your normal activities (Such as doing your job, taking care of your children or keeping your house)?

6.3 Please specify the health problems afflicting you, if you do have the problems.

6.4 To what extent do these health problems affect your daily life?
do, but have to take easy

1=I can do what I need to

2=I can do what I need to do, but with severe

difficulties

3=I cannot do household or work tasks at all

4=other, specify_____

7. FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD ROLES

(If NO children, skip to 8.1)

7.1 Given your present circumstances (e.g. income, employment, partner and relations etc.) and If without limitation of policy, are you happy with the number of children you have now, and would you like to have more, or do you wish not to have so many?

1=too little

2=OK

3=too much

9=DK, NA

7.2 How about your husband on this issue?

7.3 How about your parents-in-law?

7.4 How about your parents?

7.5 If you want a different number of children from your husband, how to deal with the disaccord?

0=same opinion

1=do as husband

2=do as wife

3=talk each other

4=do as parents or parents-in-law

5=others, specify_____

7.6 Did you celebrate the occasions of the first month (the 100th day, or the first birthday) of your children?

1=no celebration for all your children

2=only for your son

3=only for your daughter

4=celebrate it for all your children

5=not regular, sometimes celebrate while sometimes not,
the same for son or daughter

9=DK, NA

7.7 Having no son (if have sons, skip to 7.9), have you ever been pressured to have a son?

1=yes

2=no

9=DK, NA

- 7.8 Where does the pressure come from?
 1=from family (husband/ parent-in-law/ parent/ relationships etc.)
 2=from your neighborhood
 3=from yourself
 4=may from all mentioned-above
 9=DK, NA
- 7.9 Did your family wish you to have a son or a daughter before your first birth?
 0=no consideration
 1=a son
 2=a daughter
 3=anyone
 9=NA
- 7.10 Why?
 1=needed male Labor
 2=keep the family line
 3=needed a son as elderly support
 4=the daughter is more kindly to parents
 5=the less outlay on a daughter and easy-raising
 6=if having one daughter as first birth I can have another child by family planning
 7=is the same to me for son or daughter
 8=others, specify_____
- 7.11 How many children are you permitted to have according to the family planning policy in your community?
 1=one
 2=two
 3=three
 4=no limit
 9=DK, NA
- 7.12 Are there any children born out-of-plan in your family?
 1=yes
 2=no (skip to 7.15)
 9=DK, NA (skip to 7.15)
- 7.13 How much money were you fined for your children born out-of-plan?
- 7.14 How many out-of-plan born sons and daughters do you have?

- 7.15 Are there any out-of-school children at schooling age in your family?
0=not suitable question
1=yes
2=no
9=DK, NA
- 7.16 Have your children received medical care services?
0=not suitable question
1=yes
2=no
9=DK, NA
- 7.17 Are there any of your children having not received immunization?
0=not suitable question
1=yes
2=no
9=DK, NA

8. COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY ROLES

- 8.1 Are you (not including your wife) paid in any of the following ways?
(1) wage
(2) private business (self-employed)
(3) household economic income
(4) handcrafts
(5) service income
- 8.2 Do you have any of the following benefits/welfare?
(1) sick leave with pay
(2) old-age-support insurance
(3) health and life insurance
(4) hazard pay and disability insurance
(5) housing allowance
- 8.3 On which items do you normally spend money you earned?
(1) social activities
(2) house building and repairing
(3) expenses for children
(4) expenses for wife
(5) for elderly support
(6) investment
(7) saving

- 8.4 On which item do you spend the largest part of the money earned by yourself?
 1=social activities
 2=house building and repairing
 3=expenses on children
 4=expenses on wife
 5=for elderly support
 6=investment
 7=saving
 8=other, specify_____
- 8.5 Has your family ever participated in any loan programs?
 0=no (skip to 8.7)
 1=yes
- 8.6 Who is the loanee (who signed the file) for the loan?
 1=I myself
 2=my wife
 3=others, specify_____
- 8.7 Did you participate in any of the following community activities in the past six months?
 (1) villager's group/women's group
 (2) family planning communication
 (3) technology training
 (4) church activities
 (5) recreational, sports, tour activities
 (6) voluntary activities (planting trees, constructing roads, etc.)
- 8.8 Did you participate in any other community activities besides above-mentioned?
- 8.9 Did you hold any post in your community?
 0=no
 1=group leader
 2=village leader
 3=town/township leader
 4=others, specify_____
- 8.10 Please tell about what kind of women have higher status (who are important figures and admired by other women) in your community?
- 8.11 What kind of woman has lower status (who is pitiful or miserable) in your community?

- 8.12 Are you worried about your old-age support?
 1=yes
 2=no
- 8.13 Who do you think is most dependable for your old-age support?
 (choose two please)
 1=myself
 2=spouse
 3=son
 4=daughter
 5=grand children
 6=relatives
 7=friends
 8=township Government /Village Committee
 9=others, specify_____
- 8.14 When you are old, with whom would you like to live?
 (choose two please)
 1=myself
 2=spouse
 3=son
 4=daughter
 5=grand children
 6=relatives
 7=friends
 8=elderly in "Elderly House"
 9=others, specify_____
- 8.15 Now most families have fewer children than ever before. Do you think this situation means more security or less security for your old age support?
 1=more security
 2=less security
 3=it depends
 9=DK, NA

QUESTION FOR FAMILY PLANNING USERS

- 8.16 Do you think using family planning is or will be favorable for you to ...
 (1) be more healthy
 (2) lighten household work
 (3) obtain more education
 (4) obtain more time and opportunities at your job
 (5) earn more income
 (6) have more leisure time

- 8.17 How do you think your life would be different if you had not used family planning?
- 1=might be worse
 - 2=might not be different
 - 3=might be better
 - 9=DK, NA

QUESTION FOR NON-USERS OF FAMILY PLANNING

- 8.18 How do you think your life would be different if you had used family planning?
- 1=might be worse
 - 2=might not be different
 - 3=might be better
 - 9=DK, NA

(END OF QUESTIONNAIRE, THANK YOU VERY MUCH!)

Name of Interviewer: _____

Date of Interview: 1996(year)_____(mon)_____(day)